University of Alberta

Linguistic repetition and discourse structure in Russian and Serbian proverbs

by

Zoran Starčević

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

in

Slavic Linguistics

Department of Slavic and East European Studies

Edmonton, Alberta

Fall 1996

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ISBN 0-612-18112-X

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Title of Thesis: Linguistic repetition and discourse structure in Russian and Serbian proverbs

Degree: Doctor of Philosophy

Year this Degree Granted: 1996

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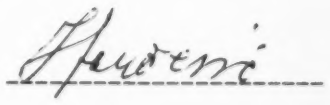

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04 October 1996

Kiša pada kapljicama,
Pak napada lokvicama.

University of Alberta

Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research for acceptance, a thesis entitled *Linguistic Repetition and Discourse Structure in Russian and Serbian Proverbs* submitted by Zoran Starčević in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Slavic Linguistics.

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Dr. Kyril Holden

Dr. Bohdan Medwidsky

Dr. Bruce Derwing

Dr. Wayles Browne

To LJubinka, Vida,
Sarah and Katarina.

Abstract

This thesis is a linguistic-stylistic analysis of the role of repetition of various linguistic devices in the generation of fundamental structural patterns of the proverb in Russian and Serbian, focusing in particular on three bipartite patterns. It discusses, first, theoretical problems in selecting criteria for the definition of the proverb, analyzes differences between proverbs and sayings in terms of structure and function, and on the basis of these two criteria defines the proverb. This undertaking ensures a methodological innovation in relation to previous study of proverbs, since the corpus chosen for the subsequent analyses actually comprises proverbs as defined in the thesis, rather than a customary variety of short oral forms.

Repetition is examined both as a multiple occurrence of a phonological or lexical item, grammatical category or syntactic structure in an individual proverb and as a recurrence of these at discourse level, in a corpus of randomly selected 500 Russian and 500 Serbian proverbs. For this reason, statistical and concordance analysis are an important element in the methodology, making it possible for the findings about repetition of a particular device in a proverb to be related to discourse relevance of that device, as well as to determine any differences between Russian and Serbian.

The analysis shows that there is a close relationship between fundamental semantic-syntactic patterns in bipartite proverbs and repetition of devices such as, in particular, rhyme, word-initial alliteration, assonance of stressed vowels, word syllable length and consonant-vowel patterns.

Repetition is found to be the basic principle in the construction of grammatical, and particularly syntactic parallelism, on the one hand, and semantic contrast or comparison or cause-effect structure, on the other, as invariants in three bipartite formulae of parallelism. These formulae, termed the contrastive, comparative (correlative), and cause-effect, are defined in structural terms.

An attempt is also made to define those proverbs that do not show transparent binarism in light of a triality of constituents of their structure, and this pattern is accordingly termed the triple formula. A previous claim that all Russian proverbs are bipartite is therefore questioned by the existence of this pattern both in Russian and Serbian proverbs.

I express my deep gratitude to Dr. Tom M.S. Priestly, for all his help and guidance in completing this work. Of course, all the imperfections are only mine.

Table of Contents

Introduction		1
The goals		1
The problem of defining the proverb		1
The concept of repetition		2
The hypothesis		3
The corpus		3
The methodology		4
The terminology		5

Chapter I

The proverb as a short 'oral' literary genre and repetition — research and theoretical problems

1.1	Introduction	10
1.2	Approaches to defining the proverb	11
1.3	Common criteria for definition and distinction	13
1.3.1	Function	13
1.3.2	Tradition	17
1.3.3	Structure	19
1.4	Relations to some other oral forms	21
1.4.1	Proverbs and sayings	21
1.4.2	Proverbs and 'non-short' forms of oral literature	25
1.5	Entries in Poslovicy and Poslovice and their authors' views	26
1.6	Interdisciplinary nature of the subject and relevant key terms	27

Chapter II

Phonological Repetition

2.1	Introduction	29
2.2	Vowels	31
2.2.1	Distribution of stressed vowels according to place of articulations	31
2.2.2	Assonance	33
2.3	Consonants	50
2.3.1	Frequency of occurrence	
2.3.2	Alliteration	58
2.4	Pleophony and [ije] from jat'	77

2.4.1	Repetition of pleophony in Russian	77
2.4.2	Repetition of ije from jat' in Serbian	78
2.5	Consonant-vowel structure	79
2.5.1	Consonant-vowel patterns	79
2.5.2	The initial and final positions in patterns and words	80
2.6	The syllable/word relationship	83
2.6.1	Word syllable length frequency in the corpus	83
2.6.2	Word syllable length repetition in a proverb	85
2.7	Rhyme	91
2.7.1	Previous study of rhyme	92
2.7.2	Prosody and the comparative Russian-Serbian aspects of rhyme	95
2.7.3	Gender of rhyme	98
2.7.4	Quality of rhyme	100
2.7.5	Distribution of rhyme	103
2.7.6	Multiple rhyme	104
2.7.7	Rhyme, its functions in the proverb, and other devices of repetition	105
2.8	Sample analyses	109
2.9	Summary	112
2.10	For further study	115

Chapter III

Lexical Repetition

3.1	Introduction	116
3.2	Previous study of lexical repetition in Russian	116
3.3	Lexical structure of the corpora - a brief description	118
3.4	Repetition in individual proverbs	121
3.4.1	Full repetition of a verb or a noun in identical form	122
3.4.2	Approximate or incomplete verb or noun repetition	124
3.4.3	Elliptic verb or noun repetition	127
3.4.4	Frequency of verb and noun repetition	130
3.4.5	Other word classes	133
3.5	Repetition in the corpus as a whole	154
3.6	Summary	162

Chapter IV

Repetition of grammatical categories and syntactic patterns

4.1	Introduction	166
4.2	A previous study of grammatical repetition in Russian	167
4.3	The objective and main hypotheses	167
4.4	Frequencies in the clause/sentence relationship	169
4.5	Case	173
4.6	Tense and mood	176
4.7	Aspect	181
4.8	Sources and effects of grammatical repetition	183
4.9	The formulae	184
4.9.1	The formulae and how to define them	184
4.9.2	Syntactic-semantic patterns as formulae	187
4.9.3	The triple formulae	194
4.10	Summary	197
4.11	For further study	198

Chapter V

Conclusions

5.1	Repetition and linguistic structure	200
5.2	Structural differences between Russian and Serbian proverbs	204
5.3	Repetition and distinctiveness of proverbial discourse	205
5.4	Contribution to research	211
	Bibliography	212
	Appendix	218
	The Russian corpus	218
	The Serbian corpus	230

List of Tables and Charts

page

Table 2.1: Frequency of stressed vowels 31
Table 2.2: Repetition of stressed vowels and vocalic /r/ 35
Table 2.3: Frequency of consonants 51
Table 2.4: Frequency of consonants by type according to voicing 53
Table 2.5: Consonant repetition in Russian proverbs 55
Table 2.6: Consonant repetition in Serbian proverbs 56
Table 2.7: Consonantal classes: overall incidence vs. repetition in a proverb 56
Table 2.8: Repetition of the same word-initial consonant 66
Table 2.9: Proverbs with multiple occurrences of more than a single consonant 74
Table 2.10: The top 20 consonant-vowel patterns 80
Table 2.11: Consonant-vowel frequency in pattern-initial and pattern-final position 81
Table 2.12: Consonant-vowel frequency in word-initial and word-final position 82
Table 2.13: Word syllable length/frequency relationship in the corpus 83
Table 2.14: Syllabic length repetition in individual proverbs 86
Table 2.15: Gender of rhyme 98
Table 2.16: Quality of rhyme 100
Table 3.1: Nouns and verbs: absence of repetition in dependence on the number of occurrences in a proverb 131
Table 3.2: Most frequently repeated prepositions in relation to their overall number in the vocabulary 135
Table 3.3: Frequency of prepositions as a word class 136
Table 3.4: Conjunctions and their frequency in the vocabulary 148
Table 3.5: Proverbs with repetition of adjectives, adverbs, prepositions, pronouns and conjunctions 149
Table 3.6: The ratio between the total number of words in the corpus, distinct forms, and repeated forms 155
Table 3.7: Repeated lexical forms' share in the lexicon (the total word corpus) 157

Table 3.8: The first 30 frequency forms in Russian and Serbian 158
Table 3.9: Verbs with frequency of 5 or more: 159
Table 3.10: Nouns with frequency of five and up 161
Table 4.1: Co-occurrences in number of words and clauses in Russian 171
Table 4.2: Co-occurrences in number of words and clauses in Serbian 172
Table 4.3: Repetition of case and number associations 173
Table 4.4: Repetition of case and number in nouns 174

Chart 3.1: Frequency of the number of words in a Russian proverb 120
Chart 3.2: Frequency of the number of words in a Serbian proverb 121
Chart 4.1: The clause/sentence relationship frequencies in Russian 169
Chart 4.2: The clause/sentence relationship frequencies in Serbian 169
Chart 4.3 : Case and number repetition in Russian 176
Chart 4.4 : Case and number repetition in Serbian 176
Chart 4.5: Repetition of tense/mood and person in Russian 178
Chart 4.6: Repetition of tense/mood and person in Serbian 178
Chart 4.7: Repetition of verbal aspect in Russian and Serbian 181

Introduction

The goals

The principal goal of this research is to find out, through a description of linguistic repetition in the chosen corpus, what linguistic devices are the most important in the discourse structure of proverbs, that is: which phonological and lexical elements, grammatical categories and syntactic structures, some of which represent common figures of style (such as alliteration, assonance, rhyme, parallelism, meter, etc.), are most characteristic of the proverb and whether the patterns of repetition of these linguistic devices, the extent to which and manners in which they are used are such that they play a relevant role in distinguishing proverbs from other short oral genres as a distinct speech and literary discourse.

An attempt is also made to define the most salient structural features of the proverb with respect to the relative frequency of repetition of various devices, and the role repetition plays in creation of a distinct structure.

Furthermore, since the concept of repetition is related to certain pragmatic aspects of the communication that proverbs engage in, the results of the analysis may yield useful information about the principles according to which repetition in proverbs functions not only as a mnemonic means, but also as a signal of the occurrence of a marked discourse; that is, of an utterance which is not generated by the speaker, but rather 'borrowed', or invoked, from the collective repertoire of special discourse forms.

The problem of defining the proverb

The question of genre, i.e., of a definition of proverbial discourse, is an issue this thesis will have to address, not only for the practical purposes of the selection of the corpus for the analysis but also because this frequently visited issue has been a stumbling block in the way of further advancement of scholarship on the proverb. A characteristic traditional approach to the problem can be found in the repetitive use of the syntagm 'proverbs and sayings,' where it seems that the latter is sometimes attached to the former in order to avoid the need for a precise linguistic or literary distinction.

Issues related to the problems of definition of the proverb and a summary of attempts to define the proverb are discussed in Chapter I. In this chapter, I argue that a structural-functional definition of the proverb makes it possible to distinguish between the proverb and the saying. Benefits of defining the proverb in this way are two-fold. Firstly, the definition serves as a helpful guide in selecting the corpus for the analysis. Secondly, and more importantly, it is thus the proverb that is analyzed, rather than the proverb and/or the saying, or any other related form. It is pointed out in this chapter that collections of proverbs, including the two from which my corpus was drawn, comprise in fact various types of short forms, of which proverbs are only the predominating one. A methodological trap, into which often fall even the most prominent paremiologists (including V.S. Karadžić and V.I. Dal', as we shall see later), is thus avoided.

I approach this analysis of the linguistic structure of proverbs with an assumption that repetition of various linguistic devices is a fundamental modeling principle of the proverbial discourse. This concept of modeling is borrowed from literary semiotics and is explained and discussed in Chapter I. A definition, along with definitions of some other relevant key terms, is given at the end of this introduction.

The concept of repetition

The importance of repetition in poetry is well known: "Repetition of sound, syllable, word, phrase, line, strophe, metrical pattern, or syntactic structure lies at the core of any definition of poetry. The notion that too much literal repetition is tedious, dull, or just plain bad runs counter to the most widely perceived fundamentals of verbal art and its ubiquitous use by poets" (The New Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics 1993:1035).

A brief further note on the concept of repetition is needed, in the first instance because I anticipate that it is often an approximate repetition — in word repetition and in rhyme, in particular — rather than just exact repetition that is importantly employed in proverbs.

Additionally, repetition in this research is studied as a rather more complex concept (in terms of devices and levels of repetition) than that which is usually limited to description of devices such as figures of style or rhyme in individual proverbs. It is observed both at the level of an **individual proverb**

and, in terms of incidence of units and devices, at the level of the **corpus as a whole**. It is hoped that the investigation of frequencies at the latter level in particular will show how important repetition is in proverbial discourse in general.

The minimal degree of repetition is defined as follows. Within a single proverb, any item, structure, category or device appearing twice constitutes repetition. Within the corpus, repetition is seen as recurrence, and its minimal degree is found in any item, structure, category or device appearing, at the same structural level, in more than one proverb. The focus of analysis is, however, on the salient forms (see 2.1 below) of repetition.

The hypothesis

My main hypothesis is that repetition of various linguistic devices, such as sounds, syllabic structures and lengths, stress and post-accentual length, lexical elements, grammatical categories and syntactic structures — regardless of whether these represent figures of style or not — is one of the fundamental modeling principles in proverbial discourse. It follows that repetition with such a role will likely be found in both Serbian and Russian corpora. Should this hypothesis be supported by the results of the analyses, I shall argue that linguistic repetition generates in proverbs a structure such that, when taken in relation to pragmatic aspects of proverbial communication (i.e., functions), it distinguishes proverbs from other types of text or discourse, both oral and written.

The corpus

Five hundred Russian and 500 Serbian proverbs are randomly selected from the most renowned collections, those by Vladimir Ivanovič Dal' (henceforth, Dal' 1957) and Vuk Stefanović Karadžić (henceforth, Vuk 1965). Only entries that fit the definition of the proverb proposed in Chapter I are taken. The selection of proverbs is **random** but nevertheless systematic: the first proverb in the Russian collection and the first two proverbs in the Serbian collection are chosen from the top of each page. This difference in number of proverbs taken from each page is due to the difference in volume of the two collections, namely Dal's of over 30,000 and Vuk's of 6921 entries.

When none of the entries on a particular page meets the requirements of the applied definition of the proverb, that page is skipped and the selection is continued from the next page.

This method of selection of the corpus is adopted in order to eliminate any impact of the thematic and alphabetical grouping of entries in either of the two collections on the degree of linguistic repetition that will be found in this corpus. This random sample of the corpus represents a major methodological difference between this research of linguistic repetition in proverbs and the most extensive description of this subject with regard to Russian proverbs to date (Levin 1964).

Some of the proverbs in my Serbian corpus, e.g. 29 and 32, are entered as two or more verses in Vuk's collection. For practical reasons, I still list them in one line capitalizing the beginning of each verse.

I use the term Serbian for proverbs from Vuk's collection for the following reasons. Firstly, this is the term Vuk himself used, considering that the proverbs he and his collaborators collected were expressions in the Serbian language. Secondly, a few proverbs found with Vuk's note indicating that they were recorded in Croatia are not included in my corpus. And thirdly, even if it would turn out that a proverb from my corpus *is* in use in exactly the same form in what is nowadays called the Croatian language, this would not deprive the proverb of its belonging to the Serbian language as well. Therefore, I decided it is appropriate to call these proverbs Serbian.

The methodology

A descriptive-analytical method is applied in examining the character of repetition in individual proverbs. This is accompanied by a synthetic method in observing the extent and relevance of repetition in this corpus of a thousand proverbs as a representative sample for any existing totality of Russian or Serbian proverbs.

A computer-aided concordance analysis is conducted, which makes the following two investigative procedures in particular technically available : a) to look at occurrences of particular linguistic units in the corpus as a whole, and b) to build indices and frequency lists of segmentable units in the corpus, such as sounds, consonant-vowel patterns and words, and thus enable investigation of the most salient units.

In this way, an exact, i.e., quantifiable, expression of the characteristics of the discourse type is obtained for each of the two segments of the corpus. Therefore, determination and statement of facts, which has not been done for the proverb in Russian and Serbian, is an important prerequisite for the analyses. The quantitative measurements of the incidence of particular linguistic units are presented without regard for their prognostic value, and are used instead for evaluating findings about frequencies of devices of repetition.

Comparing and contrasting results of the analysis for Russian and Serbian segments of the corpus was expected to reveal a number of invariant features, to which a typological significance in the proverbial discourse in general may be assigned.

The concept of perceptional saliency of certain structural positions, such as the stressed syllable, word-initial position and the proposition final position, is relied on in the analysis. Wherever the terms 'salient' and 'saliency' are used, it is to be understood that these refer to assumptions of a relative prominence of respective structural positions in the recipient's perception, whether conscious or not, of a (marked) structure.

The terminology

A number of figures of style, or rhetorical figures, which are in classifications normally considered varieties of repetition as a figure of style, and some other figures and terms recurring in the discussion, are briefly defined here, and an example for each figure is given, either from the Russian (henceforth, Russ) or Serbian (henceforth, Sb) part of the corpus. The terms are listed alphabetically.

Alliteration: sequential repetition of consonants or consonant clusters, especially in the initial position (Rečnik:14). Example: the initial *v* in Sb 55 *Vrana vrani očiju ne vadi.*

Anaphora: repetition of the initial word (or phrase) in successive phrases, clauses, verses, or semi-verses. Example: Russ 136 *Komu blin, komu klin, a komu prosto šiš.*

Antithesis: opposition of two concepts or ideas (that is, of words or phrases), particularly in parallel constructions. Example: *deševa — doroga* in Russ 116 *Istora deševa, da koryst' doroga.*

Assonance: 1. repetition of the same vowel, particularly of a stressed vowel, or of a stressed and an unstressed one; 2. sequential repetition of the same vowel within a line (Rečnik:52). Example: *a* in Sb 78 *Digni magaretu klašnje, magaretu lašnje.* 3. repetition of the same stressed vowel in several words within a proverb: Sb 57 *Vrijeme grad gradi pa ga vrijeme i razgradi.*

Discourse: a distinct type of verbal communication reflected in a structurally and functionally distinct text, spoken or written. Thus the term is not used in reference to an event of verbal interaction among two or more participants, but rather in the meaning in which genre is used in literary studies. In referring to findings about the 500 Russian and 500 Serbian proverbs analyzed in the study, the terms discourse and corpus are used distinctively; the former when a generalization in analysis is implied, the latter when no particular assumption is made.

Epiphora: repetition of the final word (or phrase) in successive phrases, clauses, verses, or semi-verses. Example: *ništa* in Sb 195 *Ko ide iz kuće bez ništa, ili nema ništa ili ne zna ništa.*

Homoioteleuton: a rhyming repetition of the same grammatical desinence. Example: Sb 296 *Nemogoše pojedoše, A nekćeše sve popiše.*

Metaphor: transfer of meaning between the signifier of one sign (at any linguistic level) and signified of another on the basis of similarity between the two concepts, whether perceived or real. Example: Sb 55 *Vrana vrani očiju ne vadi* (*vrana* = 'crow' but here metaphorically 'the bad person, criminal', etc.).

Metonymy: transfer of meaning between the signifier of one sign (at any linguistic level) and signified of another on the basis of a logical relationship between the two concepts (e.g., functional, spatial, temporal), whether perceived or real. Example: *koža* in Sb *Jedna koža ne može dva mesa dati* (*koža* = '(animal) skin' but here metonymically 'animal').

Modeling: structural organization of an utterance according to a secondary, meta-code, such as a literary code. This term requires here to be further explained and related to the concept of repetition.

Modeling is one of the central concepts in literary semiotics, in the Moscow — Tartu school in particular. Literary semiotics defines modeling as the ability of semiotic systems (language being an elementary one) to use

models of a language in a meta-language, a system hierarchically one level 'above' the language, in creation of its own models. In this theory, therefore, signs of a natural language and rules for combining them (syntax) are considered models of the natural language; their use in literature is considered secondary modeling, and generated elements and relationships between them are considered models of literary discourse. (Petković 1985:443-446).

In this theory, repetition is one of the main modeling mechanisms which literary texts apply in the generation of a structure which is in relation to the primary system (natural language) marked as a double-coded model, i.e., a structure construed in the language medium through patterns of secondary modeling.

It is precisely this universal presence of repetition as a principle of secondary modeling that enables us to study distinctiveness of types of discourse by means of determining what role repetition has in the creation of structural distinctiveness. "According to Chatman, repetition serves as an axiomatic principle which makes possible the definition of a genre or style by identifying the recurring and deviating features within a single text or among several texts" (Kraus 1994:238).

One might object here asking how is it possible to exploit repetition in distinguishing literary from non-literary discourses when it is evident that repetition inevitably occurs in language use in general. The fact that repetition, as a consequence of "the positional combination of a limited number of elements" (Lotman 1977:105) is indeed inevitable is admitted also in the theory that suggests the answer. But, as Lotman shows, "In relation to its general linguistic, phonological or grammatical structure (...) these orderings manifest themselves in only one respect: it is sufficient for us to know that the structure of the text is capable of transmitting a certain content, that it is grammatically correct. As soon as we establish that the text is constructed grammatically, its formal ordering ceases to interest us" (1977:105). Lotman goes on to illustrate that "from the perspective of general linguistic content" [parallelisms in verses, such as phonological or grammatical, are] "absolutely accidental" (1977:105).

"But if we define the text as artistic, the presumption that all the orderings in it are meaningful comes into force. Then, not one of the repetitions will emerge as accidental in relation to the structure. On these

grounds, the classification of repetitions becomes a definitive element in the description of the structure of a text (1977:106)."

A note is also needed about metaphor and metonymy, linguistic models of importance for the proverb, since it is their presence that often makes a proverb a model itself.

In traditional rhetoric and stylistics there is usually no distinction between figures of style such as parallelism or repetition, on the one hand, and semantic 'figures' based on transfer of meaning between a signifier and a signified of two signs, 'figures' such as metaphor or metonymy, on the other hand. They are all called figures of style. Since these represent two quite distinct principles of modeling in the language-medium, I shall differentiate between them by referring to the former with figures of style and to the latter with semantic figures (tropes). Although even a brief survey of any corpus of proverbs reveals that tropes are a favored device, my focus here shall be directed at the figures of style in the narrow sense as defined above, due to the obvious relevance of such devices for repetition.

Defining discourse by the means of structure and function as criteria, I also suppose that there is a degree of cause-consequence relationship between function and structure of a discourse, and expect to find this correlation between the communicational functions of the proverb and repetition as a modeling principle in the structure of the proverb.

Paronomasia: a general similarity of sounds; use of similarly sounding words. Example: Sb 1 *Ako dOđe prAv, ne izlđe zdrAv; ako dOđe krlv, ne izlđe žlv.*
Polyptoton: repetition of a word in a different case within the same sentence or verse (Rečnik:576-77). Example: a two-fold polyptoton, one in each proposition, in Russ 173 *Lixoe lixomu, a dobroe dobromu.*
Polysyndeton: repetition of the same conjunction, or of different conjunctions, between sentences, or (relevant in this thesis) between clauses, or segments of a sentence (Rečnik:577). Example: *da* in Russ 145 *Krivo, da igrivo; prjamo, da uprjamo.*
Proposition: one of the two parts in a bipartite proverb, often but not always coinciding with clause.
Russian and Serbian: In order to reduce repetitiveness in the discussion of repetition, rather than using phrases of the type "in the Russian part of the corpus" and "in the Serbian part of the corpus", I use "Russ" and "Sb" to refer

to the respective parts of the corpus analyzed in this thesis. When a reference is made to the Russian or Serbian language as a whole, or the standard idiom (of either one), it is explicitly stated so, and means just that.

Chapter I

The proverb as a short 'oral' literary genre and repetition — research and theoretical problems

1.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the study of the proverb through an overview of attempts and problems involved in defining the proverb.

The aim is to explore the possibilities for determining exact criteria for distinguishing the proverb from the saying, and to propose a definition of the former.

More precisely, the major objective is: 1) to give an overview of attempts to define the proverb, 2) to discuss their main criteria and achievements in relation to the validity of these criteria, and 3) to examine a sample of Russian and Serbian proverbs from a (socio)linguistic-semiotic perspective in relation to the three most commonly applied criteria — **function**, **tradition** and **structure** — and attempt to decide if there are enough reasons for the hypothesis that proverbs **are** a distinct discourse.

In order to find out what precisely these reasons are, i.e., what makes the proverb a distinctive discourse, it will be necessary to compare proverbs with other short oral forms, sayings in the first place. Following this, with the distinctiveness of proverbs and sayings in mind, the two major collections of Russian and Serbian proverbs are commented on. And finally, the interdisciplinary nature of the subject and the meaning of relevant key terms are addressed.

Besides the theoretical relevance of this issue for the main objective of this thesis, there is a practical one: the discussion and the criteria for definition that are proposed in this chapter should justify the applied method of selection of the corpus for the analysis in the thesis, for, as it is pointed out in this chapter, the two major collections of Russian and Serbian proverbs in fact contain a large number of other short forms.

1.2 Approaches to defining the proverb

The study of proverbs has intensified immensely during this century and resulted in numerous books, articles, collections and bibliographies. An international scholarly journal dedicated to the study of proverbs is being published.[1] And yet, even though the term paremiology, used to cover the study of proverbs, gives the research and its object the dignity of a separate scientific discipline, there is still significant disagreement over what precisely the proverb is and how to define it. As we shall see later in this chapter, the existence of a variety of both scholarly and popular terms used to refer to the proverb and similar short forms is quite indicative of the problem.

As an illustrative example of this uncertainty with regard to what exactly the proverb is, it is interesting to mention the relatively late adoption of the Russian term poslovica in the Serbian literary tradition. In his first edition of Rječnik 1818 Vuk gives poslovica a meaning of a type of secret speech whereby special syllables or words separate each syllable of the actual word. This, of course, does not mean that the Serbian people of the early 19th century did not use proverbs. The denotations they used were descriptive (*štono ima riječ; štono stari kažu* = 'as the word goes'; 'as the old folks say'). It is important to notice that these descriptive references indicated an understanding that the utterances they referred to were **old**, **common** and **oral**.

A characteristic approach to the problem of defining the proverb can be found in the commonly used syntagm 'proverbs and sayings', where the latter sometimes seems to be attached to the former so that a precise linguistic or literary distinction is avoided. On the other hand, besides hundreds of attempts that have not satisfied scholars so far, some have 'solved' the problem by saying that a definition is not necessary since we all know what a proverb is, while others have acknowledged that it is not an easy task. Even one of the founders of paremiology and an authority in the field, Archer Taylor, in his famous The Proverb chose not to tackle the problem of defining the proverb: "An incommunicable quality tells us this sentence is proverbial and that one is not. Hence no definition will enable us to identify positively a sentence as proverbial (...)" (1962:3, first published in 1931). However, in a

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[1] Proverbium. Publisher: Suomalaisen Kirjallisunden Seura, Helsinki.

later theoretical paper, Taylor (1967:161-77) discusses exactly the problems of defining the proverb in relation to related short genres.

The series of definitions proposed by those who have struggled to suggest a solution is characterized by a diversity of disciplinary and theoretical perspectives that have resulted in the choice of various aspects of proverbs for their characterization. Three criteria in particular are applied, namely: function, tradition, and structure. I shall first mention a few representative works that are characteristic for each of the three approaches and then discuss each criterion in 1.3 below.

Many of the traditionally accepted definitions of the proverb choose the perspective of communicative **function(s)** as the most relevant and state, in one way or another, that proverbs either generalize a situation or suggest a certain (e.g., appropriate, or wise, etc.) action or behavior. Such are, for instance, Abrahams 1968 and Encyclopedia Britannica. In other words, they say that a proverb is a generally accepted truth.

Others shift their focus onto the time factor and emphasize that proverbs are expressions accepted and rooted in **tradition**. Some of such works are, for example, Abrahams 1970, Pešić and Milošević 1984, Rečnik 1985, etc. This approach as well as the functional one is a characteristic of definitions of the proverb given in dictionaries and encyclopedias.

A third group focuses on form and **structure** (among others: Abrahams 1972, Blehr 1973, Permjakov 1970). The shortest but probably one of the best, in fact an early structural definition, has been given by Potebnja: "Poslovica — sravnenie", i.e., 'The proverb is a comparison' (1905:337).

There are also definitions that consider more than one aspect as criteria for defining the proverbial genre. Dundes (1975) discusses both traditionality and structural features, while other sources, like Meyers Enzyklopädisches Lexikon or Bol'šaja sovetskaja enciklopedija (henceforth, BSE), in addition to function mention origin, linguistic structure and the iconic nature of proverbial reference as relevant criteria.

We shall now proceed with a discussion of the most commonly chosen criteria with respect to their methodological and theoretical usefulness.

1.3 Common criteria for definition and distinction

1.3.1 Function

One obvious shortcoming of a functional definition of a speech or literary genre is revealed by the simple fact that other genres may have the same functions. (The same is, in fact, true for all definitions based on a single criterion.) The degree to which their functions overlap depends on the choice of particular genres for comparison, but some are certainly common for all texts that can be labeled as 'literary', and, in particular, for texts referred to as 'poetic'. Proverbs, due to their linguistic and literary structure and the status these give to them in communication, no doubt fulfill both 'literary' and 'poetic' functions, although one might argue about the extent to which these functions are primary in proverbial discourse.

Another problem lies in the validity of two particularly common notions used to characterize the functions of the proverbial genre. The two notions are 'common wisdom' and 'middle way'.

The first of the two notions is one of the long-lasting misconceptions about proverbs that have eventually been corrected. In more recent, both theoretical and empirical, studies of proverbial collections in particular languages it has been pointed out that proverbs also express opposing views on the same subject (e.g., Cvetanović 1977, Pešić and Milošević 1984). Compare, for instance, the wisdom in Sb *Vrana vrani očiju ne vadi* "A crow does not poke other crows' eyes" with *Suprotnosti se privlače* "Opposites attract" and also in the analogous English proverbs: *Many hands make light work* vs. *Too many cooks spoil the broth*. It needs to be emphasized, however, that the notion of 'common wisdom' and the fact that proverbs express opposing views or attitudes are not absolutely contradictory; each particular view is common to a certain degree, i.e., at least within a social sub-group.

Most proverbs seem to be providing answers to an imagined question "How to survive". Mainly reflecting views of the common man, they recommend a middle way, rather than a high moral ideal: *Bolje vrabac u ruci nego golub na grani* "Better a robin in hand than a pigeon on a branch", *Koga je moliti nije ga ljutiti* "You don't anger him whose favors you need". Taylor even sees this as a major function of the proverb: "The most striking trait in

the ethics of proverbs is the adherence to the middle way, and indeed their reason for existence lies in that fact" (1962:168).

Nevertheless, a close look at proverbs that have a common topic, as is the case for instance with those about 'woman', yields quite a different picture. My study of 143 Serbian proverbs about 'woman', in comparison with stereotypes about 'woman' in Serbian advertisements, showed a dominant misogynous attitude in proverbs, unless the topic is 'mother' or 'sister'. This finding, in addition to the existence of divergent attitudes, also reveals that the authors of most proverbs, or at least of these about women, were likely males.[2]

A third problem arises when this issue is thought of from the perspectives of time and the constant change of culture over time, on the one hand, and that of societal segmentation of global culture and the distinctiveness associated with each variety, on the other hand. In other words, **time** and (societal) **space** are factors of variation in the functions of proverbs.

If culture is viewed as a dynamic hierarchy of communicational systems — which is the definition of culture accepted among the scholars of the Moscow — Tartu semiotic school and among their followers — then one must allow that the function(s) of a discourse type may change from one model of culture to another one. Therefore, any functional definition is culture-dependent and is subject to revision following changes in the nature of a particular culture itself. Since Russian or Serbian proverbs, for instance, are a literary genre the origins of which are in a model of culture different from contemporary Slavic culture(s), we must give some thought to the differences in their communicative and literary functions in the cultural model in which they originated **and** in the contemporary one. The former may be given a broad but adequate name of 'oral culture' and the latter can be operationally named 'modern culture'. We can hardly question the thesis that proverbs had, on the one hand, a very important educational function in the original, exclusively oral culture, and a relevant recording and storing

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[2] "Stereotypes about 'woman' in Serbian proverbs and advertisements". Alberta Conference on Linguistics. November 1994, Banff. To appear in Working Papers in Linguistics. Dept. of Linguistics, University of Alberta.

information (knowledge) function, together with other oral literary genres, on the other.

In modern culture, proverbs are used with a new vigor in such discourse types as advertising (see a note on proverb-advertisements in the Dal' collection in 1.5 below), the function of which is **persuasion**. Advertising language has developed proverb-like slogans, which are actually sometimes either based on proverbs or are proverbs themselves. (The interrelationships between proverbs and slogans in German advertising is analyzed in Frankenberg 1980.) This new phenomenon is helpful in unveiling an interesting functional similarity between proverbial and advertising communication. A characteristic of advertising is, for instance, the use of absolute comparatives, which are in fact superlative qualifications, as they affirmatively evaluate the referent in relation to 'all the rest in the same class', thus no comparative questioning is possible. Similarly to an advertisement arguing for unquestionable virtues of its referent, a proverb is an evaluative statement which is hard to oppose because it assumes the authoritative position of the collective as its creator and actual sender of the message, that is, unless the recipient happens to know a proverb stating the opposite. Argument or **persuasion** based, on the one hand, on the collective authority behind every proverb and on an appeal of special qualities of structure of many proverbs, on the other, is thus a function of the proverb regardless of whether a particular speaker uses it with such intention in mind, and even if he is not aware of its power.

Given the role of language in arguing or persuasion, we can also hardly not realize that the functions of the proverb are closely associated with the structural aspects of the proverb. The repetitive formulaic structure of many proverbs — marked, as we shall see later in this thesis, by binary syntactic structures, parallelism, rhyme, rhythm, meter, assonance, alliteration, etc. — is what aids, if not ensures, some proverbial functions.

The structure, thus, stands in an egg and chicken relationship with the primary functions of proverbs, including the function of a mnemonic device allowing for easier memorization, storing and use of expressions of 'common wisdom'. These have certainly lost most of their primary relevance in the modern technological culture with its more powerful means of recording, storing and transmitting information and knowledge, but the above

mentioned structural characteristics of proverbs certainly have a role in whatever other functions remain.

One of the most important functions which is inseparable from structure is the function performed by metaphor and other tropes. Metaphorical and other tropic proverbs have in fact two possible interpretations, depending on the code selected: the denotative decoding of the lexis and a tropic decoding. What serves as a code selecting switch is context, i.e., the pragmatic function(s) of the communicative act. In an appropriate communicative context, *Gvožđe se kuje dok je vruće*, lit.: 'The iron is struck while it's hot', **can** communicate its denotative, literary, meaning. However, as soon as context permits the decoding of the theme *gvožđe* 'iron' as a metaphor, the whole proverb is interpreted as a metaphor. In this case, the proverb is a textual metaphor and it is the context that triggers metaphorical reference.

Therefore, it is necessary to acknowledge that it is difficult to keep function and structure apart in attempts to use them as criteria for defining the proverb.

Furthermore, various models of culture represented by societies belonging to different civilizations also reveal differences in sets of the most relevant functions assigned to and carried by proverbial communication. The most apparent difference is probably in whether the proverb has the status of a legal argument or not.[3]

And finally, but not least importantly, the proverb is a speech genre, a literary genre and a folklore genre. This communicational dimension is a source of a variety of functions that proverbs perform or at least have the ability to perform. For a definition, which by the nature of its purpose should be short, it is not easy to include them all. Some of these communicational functions that are rather important in proverbial communication are also fundamental in other literary genres.

One of them is certainly a notable stylistic markedness in the language of proverbs. But this secondary organization of language as medium is a quality of every literary text. Such forms, regardless of whether we call them literary or proverbial, generate **beauty** (needless to say, beauty may be

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[3] Among the Anang people of southeastern Nigeria proverbs are used "as a method of gaining favor in court" (Messenger 1965:299).

perceived in stylistically unmarked language as well), which fulfills the same human need. Thus, in this respect there is little difference between proverbs and other literary texts. This conclusion, therefore, brings us back to the point we already made that function and structure are inter-dependent. Moreover, I shall argue later in this thesis — on the basis of my findings about the role of repetition as a modeling principle in the linguistic structure of a typical proverb — that a simultaneous application of the functional **and** structural criteria is an approach in which it is possible to effectively define the proverb as a discourse type and distinguish it from similar discourse types.

1.3.2 Tradition

In addition to 'common wisdom' or a moral as a characteristic emphasized in most of the attempts to define 'proverb', this genre is as a rule also characterized as 'old', 'traditional', 'based on the experience of many generations', etc. However, Anikin (1964) shows that in Russian folklore new proverbs, following the already established structural patterns, are being created. Another challenging example can be found in the creative exchange between the Serbian oral tradition and some among the best poets of this culture. The Serbian poet romanticist Petar Petrović Njegoš, who on the one hand based a great deal of his poetic philosophy on the collective experience ('wisdom') and folklore, provided, on the other hand, in his poetry numerous expressions which later took on the life of independent texts and obtained the status of proverbs.[4] Such new proverbs are, for instance, *Svaki pas svoje breme nosi* 'Each generation carries its own burden', *Tvrd je orah voćka čudnovata, ne slomi ga, al' zube polomi* 'A tough walnut is no ordinary fruit; you'll break your teeth rather than crack it', or *Blago onom ko dovijeka živi, imao se rašta i roditi,* 'Lucky is he who lives forever, for he had something to be born for'.

With the acceptance of the fact that new proverbs are being created in modern times too, the commonly mentioned 'age' of proverbs therefore can no longer serve as a reliable criterion.

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[4] The same exchange has, of course, happened between the works of other great writers and their cultures, e.g. Goethe, Pushkin, or Shakespeare.

Nevertheless, the notion of 'tradition' deserves further consideration. It seems that another inherent feature of proverbs is hidden behind this idea of antiquity. This feature is actually social acceptance of an expression, which not all sentences expressing a 'common wisdom' acquire. This **acceptance** in communication comes in only one way, by use in the society. The misunderstanding is of a metonymic nature: that what has been commonly accepted has necessarily also been in the societal communication for some time. Thus, it is understood that the relevance belongs to the 'age' rather than to the **conventionality** or 'usualness' of an utterance. It should be said here that 'society' in this respect does not necessarily mean a whole nation(ality) or all the speakers of a language. It is enough for an utterance to be accepted, i.e., to be used, by a subgroup or some subgroups in order to assume and maintain its life in folklore communication, i.e., proverbial status.

The word status is crucial here. What makes a sentence a proverb is a silent convention among speakers of a social group to use it and consider it a 'proverb'. This very acceptance in use enables collectors to record them and publish them under such a heading. This acceptance in a segment of a speech society is also sufficient for a proverb to get recorded and to enter the dictionary of all units of this genre in a particular language. In such a dictionary proverbs have a status analogous to that which words have in a dictionary of all words of a language: they are used at least by some group of speakers, at least in some period of the existence of the speech society.

An interesting aspect of authorship is revealed through this notion of conventionality. Although a notion of the 'collective' use of proverbs is rarely missed in any text about them, authorship of proverbs is both collective **and** individual. The actual original creator of an utterance that has obtained this **status of proverb** is usually forgotten (if not unknown) and once this status is achieved, plays no role in the life of a proverb. On the other hand, the individual authorship over a communicative act is exercised by every individual's using or rather choosing a proverb. The collective authorship is achieved through the social acceptance and verification of an utterance. That the idea expressed by a proverb has been socially verified means that only those utterances which are given the status of proverb are regarded as such. This notion of status that a proverb enjoys in a social group implies social **evaluation**, which comes through its repetitive use by a number of individuals of a social group, at different times in different places.

'Tradition' or, better, 'conventionality' requires, therefore, as a prerequisite, repetition of an utterance (proverb-to-be) over time.

1.3.3 Structure

The structural approach has been explored relatively recently, after more traditional approaches proved to be unsatisfactory both among the students of folklore and those of linguistics and literature. An illustrative example of the shift in focus of one and the same researcher can be found in successive articles by Abrahams 1968 (function), 1970 (tradition), and 1972 (structure).

While Blehr (1973) argues that sentence structure is not a sufficient criterion for a definition of the proverb, insisting that it is necessary to account for such cognitive processes as those that are at work in metaphorical proverbs, structural analysis is applied in some of the most important works, e.g., by Abrahams (1972), Peukes (1977) and Permjakov (1970). A principal characteristic that has been pointed out is the **binary syntactic structure**. The proverb consists of two parts and a minimal proverb consists of two words. Insisting that the proverb can be best determined in terms of structure, Dundes finds in this respect a parallel between the proverb and the riddle. The basic structural unit of the proverb is 'topic — comment' and direct (literal) ones are similar to metaphorical ones (1975:970). He further finds that "All proverbs are statements containing a comparison and/or contrast (1975:965)."[5]

The most relevant structural analysis is probably that by Russian paremiologist Permjakov. The basis of his linguistic-semiotic theory of the cliché is his study of proverbs and sayings. Structure is studied on three planes which he calls logico-semiotic (semantics), morphologico-syntactic (syntactics) and object-image (realia). He defines the difference between proverb and saying, the former being a 'closed' sentence and the latter being an 'un-closed' one:

> Kliše tipa *Streljaet iz puški po vorob'jam,* kotorye obrazujut nezamknutye predloženija i est' pogovorki. A kliše tipa *Mal zolotnik, da dorog,* obrazujuščie zamknutye predloženija, — poslovicy (Permjakov 1970:9).

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[5] It is important to note that this view coincides with Potebnja's definition: "The proverb is a comparison".

> It is the cliché expressions of the type '[He] shoots at sparrows from a cannon', which form un-closed sentences, that are sayings. And clichés of the type 'A golden coin is small, but expensive', forming closed sentences, are proverbs.[6]

Depending on the type of reference (or semiosis), two types of proverbs are differentiated in the literature: denotative, usually called 'direct' (*Bolje ikad nego nikad*, 'Better ever than never', *Bolje ti je imati posla s vrećom buha nego s rđavom ženom* 'It's better to have to deal with a bagful of flees than with a bad wife'), and metaphorical, which should be more accurately called tropic (*Teško loncu iz sela začine čekajući* 'Poor is the pot that waits for spices from the village', *Zidovi imaju uši* 'Walls have ears'). This distinction was emphasized already by Potebnja:

> Prjamoe značenie izrečenija pri prevraščenii ego v poslovicu stanovitsja obrazom. Obraz soedinjaet meždu soboju častnye slučai, k koim primenjaetsja, daet vozmožnost' obobščenija, zamenjaet soboju èti slučai (1905:337)
>
> The direct meaning of an expression being turn into a proverb becomes iconic. An iconic expression unites the particular cases to which it applies; it gives a possibility of generalization, [and] stands itself for those cases.

and by Taylor (1962:10), who like most other scholars spoke of 'metaphorical' meaning having in mind tropes in general: "The most interesting and artistic proverbs arise from the metaphorical use of a simple act or event".

The iconic nature of the proverbial meaning has often been emphasized: one type of proverb, rather than conveying a denotative reference to its 'topic', transfers a message which is obtained only through a tropic reference to something other than the denotative meaning of their lexis. Metaphor is the most suitable semantic figure: *Ko seje vetar — žanje buru* 'He who sows the wind — harvests the storm' *Đe će kruška, no pod krušku* 'Where will pear [fall] other than under the pear [tree]'. There are views, like that by Seitel (1969:143-161), that the proverb is the principal social use of the metaphor, that it is short and the simplest of the metaphorical genres of folklore, directly serving a social purpose. A study of Sorbian (Lusatian) proverbs shows that less than 20% of all texts are not metaphorical, i.e., tropic (Gardos 1979).

After metaphor, metonymy is the most employed figure: *Ralo i motika hrane ceo svet* 'Plough and hoe feed the whole world', *Ko nema u glavi — ima u nogama* 'He who does not have in the head — has in the legs', *Popovska vreća nikad se napuniti ne može* 'One can never fill up a priest's

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[6]This and all following translations from Russian and Serbian are my own, Z.S.

bag'. Both tropes can be found in one and the same proverb: *S glave riba smrdi* 'Fish stinks from the head [first]', *Ruka ruku mije, obraz obadvije* 'The hand is washed by the hand, the face [is washed] by both'.

Since natural language is the principal medium of literature, a definition of a genre necessarily needs to consider linguistic structure. Distinctions between genres should also be described on the basis of structural criteria. In defining and describing these differences between short oral forms it is likely that sets of structural characteristics will be needed for a sufficient characterization of a genre in relation to all other closely related genres. The answer to the question to what degree linguistic and stylistic criteria are **sufficient** in order to define genre is not necessarily always the same with regard to each particular case. As already pointed out, a simultaneous consideration of structure and function as criteria is more likely to offer a definitive solution. This issue in relation to distinguishing the proverb from the saying is considered in the discussion that follows. A working definition, needed for selection of corpus, is proposed below.

1.4 Relations to some other oral forms

The existence of a great variety of terms for short literary forms confirms their close inter-relatedness and the complexity of defining precise distinctions between them. A look at the scope of these terms is a good indicator of the problem. In English literature alone, a variety of terms refer to texts that have the feature 'short' in common: proverb, saying, proverbial expression, riddle, maxim, superstition, curse, charm, wellerism, anecdote, precept, truism, apothegm, adage, commonplace, aphorism, sentential remark, proverbial (twin) formula, geflügeltes Wort (literary quotation), and routine formula. There is a similarly rich variety of terms in other literary traditions as well.

1.4.1 Proverbs and sayings

It has been already pointed out that the common phrase 'proverbs and sayings' sometimes is used so that a precise distinction between the two forms may be avoided. There are also scholars who simply say that "sometimes the

difference between proverbs and sayings is not big" (Romanska 1963:221) and that is why they are considered one and the same genre.

When proverb and saying are defined independently, as is the case in dictionaries of literary terms, it is sometimes difficult to see what the distinction between them is, especially if definitions have not been written by the same author. To illustrate the latter case, let us compare the definitions in the otherwise very reliable and modern Rečnik 1985.

> Proverb: Sažeta, zaveštajna formulacija iskustva, jezgrovito izrečeno opažanje prihvaćeno u tradiciji. 'A concise, inherited formulation of experience, a tersely expressed experience accepted in the tradition'. (Examples: *Bolje je pošteno umrijeti nego sramotno živjeti* 'It is better to die honestly than to live shamefully', *Kad čoek nema svoga dobra, tuđe zlo premeće* 'When a man lacks his own good, he turns around someone else's misfortune', *Ispeci, pa reci* 'Bake [first], then say')[7] Saying: Izraz u obliku formule, metaforički iskovani oblik govora većinom pomoću slika idiomatičkog karaktera. 'An expression in the form of a formula, a form of speech metaphorically coined mainly by means of images of idiomatic character'.[8] (Examples: *Otišao u Nedođin* '[He's] gone to the No-Coming-Place', *Kad gavran pobeli* 'When a crow becomes white', *Neslan čovek* 'Un-salted man', *Rumen kao ruža* 'Blushing like a rose', *Prošao kao Janko na Kosovu* '[He] fared like Janko on Kosovo', *S koca i konopca* 'From the stake and the rope')[9] Sentencia: Kratka, sažeta izreka koja sadrži neku opštu misao ili moralnu istinu primenjivu na različite slučajeve u životu. (No examples given.) 'A short, concise saying which contains a general thought or moral truth applicable to various cases in life'.[10]

The two phrases defining the proverb point out the same three features: brevity, traditionality and usualness. On the other hand, comparing the definitions for the proverb, saying and sentencia, two major statements are interesting to notice. Firstly, metaphoricity is attributed to the saying but not to the proverb (the author uses a metaphor, *jezgrovito*, literally 'nutty', i.e., terse, to define the proverb, however) and, secondly, the sentencia is defined in the same way as the proverb, with the tropic reference added, but is referred to by the word *izreka*, 'saying'. In other words, the sentencia is not different from the proverb and is called a saying. Thus, just taking into account, for instance, the fact that a metaphorical reference is attributed only to the saying and the sentencia makes the definitions contradict one another.

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[7]Rečnik:584. (author, Nada Milošević).

[8]The definition is not worded very successfully: it is not metaphorical (what is meant is probably 'tropic') images that can be of idiomatic character but rather the linguistic structure of the proverb.

[9]Rečnik:291 (author, Nada Milošević).

[10]Rečnik:708 (author, Jovan Deretić).

Surprisingly, even some of the most worldwide renowned fundamental referential works add to the confusion of the terms 'proverb' and 'saying'. Such are Encyclopedia Americana, which reads: "PROVERB, a brief saying [sic!] that (...)" (704), Encyclopedia Britannica: "proverb, a succinct and pithy saying [sic!] (...)" (258) and The New Princeton Handbook of Poetic Terms: "PROVERB. A traditional saying, pithily or wittily expressed [sic!]" (241). One is left to conclude that proverbs are a sub-genre of sayings. However, it seems that the problem actually arises from the use of 'saying' in its popular rather than terminological meaning in scholarly attempts to define the proverb.

> More successful is the **contrasting** of the proverb and the saying in BSE: Dlja P. xarakterno polnoe vyraženie mysli i naličie vyvoda, v otličie ot pogovorki, k-raja vyražaet mysl' nepolno", i.e., 'A characteristic of the proverb is a complete expression of thought and presence of a conclusion, unlike the saying, which expresses a thought incompletely' (1975:412).

Although the defining of the proverb by the 'completeness of thought' criterion is vague, this attempt actually recognizes an important difference between the proverb and the saying.

My conclusion is, however, that this difference can be defined more accurately in terms of the **linguistic structure**, **discourse status** of the proverb as an utterance, and in **type of reference**. Here I follow Permjakov's above-mentioned distinction between 'closed' and 'open' structures, but define the distinction between the proverb and the saying in more exact and precise terms and account also for the apparent difference in the type of their reference to the extralinguistic reality. The difference between proverbs and sayings lies in the first instance in their 'completeness' in terms of sentence structure and, consequently, in whether the utterance can function as an independent minimal speech unit. In addition, the proverbs refer to any number of actualities of its referent in the reality, whereas the saying is monoreferential.

With respect to structure, the proverb is a syntactically independent sentence, i.e., **a** minimal text, which **may** also function (when it is integrated in discourse) **as** an integral part of a larger text (oral or written).

The saying, on the other hand, is **either** a syntactically dependent structure which **necessarily** functions as a sentence constituent (type **a**), **or** a sentence whose syntactic member (such as pronominal subject) has already come up in the discourse context (type **b**). Examples of type **a**, that is of a

syntactically dependent structure that functions as a member of a simple sentence, would be: *neslan čovek*, or *s koca i konopca*. Examples of type **b** would be: *Prošao kao Janko na Kosovu. Otišao u Nedođin. Kad gavran pobeli.* For decoding the sayings of the type **b**, as well as any saying of the type, a reference to the subject (first two examples) or main clause (the third example) is necessary. This reference has occurred, or may be found, in the preceding discourse. In this case, the subject or main clause is the (redundant) theme of an explicit full sentence **On/Marko je prošao kao Janko na Kosovu.* Therefore, the saying of type **b** could be thought of as a post-positioned context-dependent rheme. Of course, context, linguistic and non-linguistic, is a relevant dimension of any communicational act. We are here talking about the context of discourse — since the reference to theme in sayings is found within discourse (text) — and the fact that it is in this context that a particular referent of a saying is to be found.

Consequently, our understanding of sayings as syntactically or discourse dependent structures implies that a saying may constitute an integral part of a proverb, but not vice versa.

On the basis of the preceding considerations, the following working definition of the proverb is proposed.

The proverb is a minimal text, that is a sentence, with a universal referential applicability to extralinguistic reality. Universal reference should be understood as non-reference to a particular reality, but rather as applicability of the expressed idea to any and every possible actuality (i.e., occurrence).

This definition is sufficient for selection of corpus of proverbs from the two collections (Dal' 1957 and Vuk 1965), which comprise, as we shall see below, a variety of short oral forms. That corpus is used for the analyses in subsequent chapters. The corpus is selected solely on the basis of this definition, and no other factors, such as intuition were involved. It needs to be pointed out here that, although occurrence of a personal pronoun is usually an indication that an expression is a saying, this was not a criterion for exclusion of an utterance from the corpus, since a personal pronoun with general reference does also occur in proverbs.

As already emphasized, in order to distinguish the proverb from other related discourse types, the criterion of function needs to be considered along

with the structural one. We have already seen that a social consensus is an important aspect of utterances which function as proverbs, since an utterance achieves the status of a proverb by means of its being used as such. The proverbs which are selected for the analysis have passed this test of social acceptance by their being collected by Dal', Vuk and their predecessors from the actual use in a social and speech community.

To conclude, the syntactic and discourse difference between the proverb and the saying can be seen, for instance, between *Ispeci, pa reci* (a sentence, text, **universally applicable**; thus a proverb) and *Kad gavran pobeli* (a clause, i.e., a syntactically dependent structure, not a sentence, and not a text; thus a saying).

1.4.2 Proverbs and 'non-short' forms of oral literature

It has already been noted that the proverb also engages in a very close relationship with 'non-short' oral literary forms, such as fables, fairy tales and songs (poems). A relationship in which the proverb is an offshoot of another form has usually been emphasized. Closing lines in fables and fairy tales or key verses in poetry have often assumed an independent life as proverbs. However, there are also examples of other oral forms construed to 'explain' a proverb.

The following point is important for the study of the formulaic nature of the proverb and oral literature in general. The singer of songs or teller of tales are not authors in the sense of later written literature of individual authors: in the process of creating a song or a tale, they are in fact re-creators of a discourse shared and anticipated by their audience. In this process they employ an inherited repertoire of song or tale clichés or schemes and a repertoire of devices for filling in common points in the cliché. Two expectations arise from this: firstly, that the proverbs are also a discourse which is created on the basis of certain culturally given models and, secondly, that these models are also to be found among the constructive clichés and schemes used in tales, songs or fables.

1.5 Entries in Poslovicy and Poslovice and their authors' views

Although the titles of both collections relate only to proverbs, in actuality it turns out that only a small portion of entries in each are proverbs. A random check that I conducted resulted in the following discoveries. In Poslovice, Vuk includes at one point over ten pages of the common oath (Sb 'zakletva'): 270-281. In Poslovicy, riddles occupy the following pages: 318-322, 396, 420-421, 541-544, 557; some pages almost exclusively contain ethnic stereotypes: 332-346; some other superstitions and folk medicine phrases: 402-404; or (children's) chants: 558-560. In Poslovicy one can even find genuine advertisements, according to notes that Dal' himself provides, indicating such use of at least two examples:

> *Kupi, deneg ne žalej, so mnoj ezdit' veselej* (nadpis' na kolokol'čikax). *Kupi, ne skupis', ezdi — veselis'* (to že). (1957:276).
> 'Buy, don't regret your money, ride with me more joyfully. Buy, don't be stingy, ride — rejoice'.

Despite this, both Dal' and Vuk, in their passing remarks on proverbs, came rather close to providing useful definitions of the proverb. Vuk, as with regard to many other issues in linguistic and literary scholarship, intuitively understood what distinguished proverbs from related formulae, correctly observing that the 'proverbs' in his collection could be divided into several classes, whereby two major ones would be

> prave poslovice, koje se svagda jednako govore, n. p. *Teško loncu iz sela začine čekajući!*; i na onake koje se različno govore, n. p. *Preveo bi žedna preko vode, preveo bi te žedna preko vode, prevešće te žedna preko vode* (1965:18).
> 'real proverbs, which are always said the same way, e.g., 'Poor is the pot that wait for spices from the village', and those which are said differently, e.g., '[He] would take a thirsty person over a water, [He] will take you thirsty over a water'.

It seems as though what Vuk had in mind by the latter class is variants of the same proverb. If this reading is correct, than he was wrong about the second class, since most if not all proverbs could be found in variants, whether in synchrony (regional variants) or in diachrony (changes over time). Nevertheless, Vuk's two classes of proverbs are meaningful, because they are in fact proverbs and sayings respectively.

As for Dal', in the preface to Poslovicy, he acknowledges that in his collection proverbs comprise just one out of eight classes of one totality. He describes characteristics of each of them and, recognizing that it is not always possible to distinguish between individual examples, he states that

> Poslovica — koroten'kaja pritča; sama že ona govorit, čto 'golaja reč' ne poslovica'. Eto — suždenie, prigovor, poučenie, vyskazannoe obinjakom i puščennoe v oborot, pod čekanom narodnosti (1957:18).
> 'The proverb is a short parable; it itself says that 'simple speech' is not a proverb. It is a judgment, a comment, a word of advice, uttered figuratively and put into circulation, with the imprint of the [common] people.'

What Dal' refers to using the word *pritča* is the structural completedness and discourse independence of the proverb, the same class which Vuk calls "true proverbs, which are always said the same way" (1965:18).

It is curious to note that these two collections are in literature usually unreservedly taken as collections of proverbs, despite the fact that both Vuk and Dal' indicate that their works contain a diversity of short oral forms. Consequently, one can suppose that the investigations of 'proverbs' taken from these collections are in fact based on corpora comprising a variety of short forms. The corpus for a major study of repetition in Russian proverbs, for instance (Levin 1964), lists at least five percent of sayings, according to my distinction between the two forms.

1.6 Interdisciplinary nature of the subject and relevant key terms

The proverb as a language-medium communicative act, on the one hand, as well as linguistic repetition itself, on the other, are phenomena that are traditionally of interest to a variety of disciplines concerned with animal symbolicum which are normally assigned to linguistics, literature or the general science of systems of communication. In addition, proverbs are traditionally considered a part of the scholarship on folklore.

Certainly, the topic can be studied solely from the perspective of any one discipline in this area. However, given the fact that linguistic repetition with its main devices is a focus of stylistics in particular; that discourse structure is studied with equal interest in linguistics as well as in literature; and also that the proverb is a communicative expression generated, if not also utilized, primarily by the traditional, 'folk' model of culture, an attempt to reach the research objective adopted here requires that a variety of perspectives should be taken into account. This approach is possible because these disciplines have a substantial common heritage, and also because the study of the proverb is a study of a form of communication, which

consequently means that all the disciplines mentioned here, including linguistics, join together into the general science of man.

Such an approach is likely to be beneficial, but this wide perspective in approach can also pose some difficulties. A principal one is the use of terminology. In particular disciplines, different meanings are given to certain shared inter-disciplinary terms. However, the scholarship of the 20th century, inspired by the ideas of theoretical cybernetics and pursuing a universal theory of science of human culture (Petković 1985:444), has acquired certain theoretical concepts and terminology that are easily applicable in the study of any subject traditionally in the domain of the disciplines investigating human communication. I expect such concepts to find their place in this analysis, and therefore I found it practical to define, in the Introduction to the thesis, the meaning of such key terms that will be recurring in the discussion. An elaborate note is provided there on modeling, from the theoretical point of view the most crucial term for this study, and its relationship to repetition in the proverb.

Chapter II

Phonological Repetition

2.1 Introduction

This chapter aims to discover and discuss the extent and patterns, firstly, of salient repetition of individual sounds, and of identical or like sequences of sounds, and, secondly, of consonant-vowel patterns and word syllable length. In individual proverbs, only such repetition that satisfies one of the following two conditions is paid attention to: 1. repetition which results in identity of sounds in at least two salient positions of the same kind, or 2. repetition contributing to a likeness of sounds that does not stem from repetition of a unit of meaning, except for when such forms substantially differ from one another.[11] The concept of saliency of formal likeness, or correspondence, is the central point which directs the focus of analysis, as well as the interpretation of results, in particular of devices such as alliteration and assonance. The assumptions that I make with regard to relative saliency are based, in the first place, on my taking the stress-bearing, the word-initial, and the proposition-final positions as the most salient ones.

The focus is thus, on the one hand, on assonance and alliteration in stressed syllables, alliteration in word-initial consonants, and rhyme; and, on the other hand, on repetition of the most frequent consonant-vowel word patterns and syllable length in words.

Consequently, repetition of morphemes and words is not a concern here, although such repetition is, certainly, also a relevant source of likeness of the sounds in a proverb. Repetition of words, and of root morphemes, is the subject of discussion in Chapter III, which deals with lexical repetition. (Repetition of morphemes rarely occurs without at least one of its occurrences being also a word, and for this reason most of the repetition at this level is joined to lexical repetition.)

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[11] An exception is allowed in several proverbs belonging to an alliterative pattern termed complex minimal alliteration, involving parallelism and contrast, as is described in 2.3.2.1.3 below.

It follows that, for instance, the initial consonants of a single repeated word are not counted as alliteration. They are, however, counted when the same initial consonant also appears in other word(s) in the same proverb.

Before presenting an analysis of units and devices examined in individual proverbs, I first give in the appropriate sections below certain data on the phonological and syllabic structure of the corpora as a whole, as obtained by frequency analysis of stressed vowels, consonants, consonant clusters, consonant-vowel word structure and word syllable length. Three aspects of phonological structure are studied in particular as relevant for the three phonological devices of repetition. Assonance of stressed vowels in individual proverbs is discussed in relation to frequencies of stressed vowels in the corpus, alliteration in relation to corpus frequencies of consonants, and rhyme in relation to consonant-vowel word structure in the corpus.

The respective quantitative analysis of a particular class of phonological units serves a two-fold purpose. First, it provides data for a brief description of salient discourse repetitiveness, or recurrence of phonological units in the corpus as a whole. Second, it serves as a phonological structural background to which particular findings on phonological repetition in individual proverbs are or may be related when it is relevant. In most instances it means relating token repetition, or what is repeated in individual proverbs, to type repetition, i.e., phonological units and classes recurring at the corpus (discourse) level. Some merit can also be attributed to parts of this analysis for its likely being, to the best of my knowledge, the first such frequency analysis of the phonological structure of any Russian or Serbian discourse type.

For the analyses in this chapter only, consonant letters in the corpus are rewritten according to the rules (from rule 3R only) devised by Derwing and Priestly (1980). In addition to such adjustments of Russian spelling as phonological representation of digraphs, or deletion of *t* and *d* in consonant clusters in which they are not tolerated in Russian, assimilation according to voice and assimilation according to place of articulation (within a word, as well as across a word boundary in Russ) are accounted for in the rewriting. The rewriting affects the Russian corpus considerably, and the Serbian corpus to a lesser degree; the rewriting for Serbian is adapted to show consonant assimilations, but no other phonological properties.

In addition, the stressed syllable is marked by capitalization of the stressed vowel. This implies that the tone aspect of Serbian accents is not analyzed in this study, since it is not a factor in Russian.

2.2 Vowels

Reduction of Russian unstressed vowels varies depending on their position and distance in relation to the stressed vowel (Košutić 1969:25-37). Stressed vowels, on the other hand, consistently retain their acoustical and phonological value. For this reason, and because of the acoustical saliency of stressed vowels, only an analysis of stressed vowels is conducted in this study. In order to make meaningful comparisons between Russ and Sb, only repetition of stressed vowels are also studied in Sb, although there is no such vowel reduction in unstressed syllables in the Serbian language as there is in the Russian language. The focus on stressed vowels is, additionally, due to time limitations of a doctoral thesis and it should be acknowledged that a further study of phonological repetition in Russian proverbs may find repetition of reduced vowels worth a thorough investigation and, even more so, of all vowels in Serbian.

2.2.1 Stressed vowels frequency and distribution according to place of articulation

The statistics for the corpus incidence of stressed vowels is shown in the following table.

Table 2.1: Frequency of stressed vowels

Russian		Serbian	
O	803/32.99%	O	656/27.72%
A	731/30.03%	A	595/25.14%
E	301/12.36%	E	452/19.10%
I	254/10.43%	I	326/13.77%
U	227/9.32%	U	268/11.32%
Y[12]	118/4.84%	R	69/2.91%
Total	2434	Total	2366

[12] I treat [i] and [y] as separate units.

The first feature of stressed vowel distribution in the corpora to note are the frequency ranks of the five stressed vowels common to both Russ and Sb, (o, a, e, i, u), and the fact that they are identical for Russ and Sb. Secondly, the two most frequent ones, non-high /o/ and /a/, are together much more pronounced than the remaining ones combined. And thirdly, these two are more frequent in Russ than in Sb, while the remaining three /e, i, u/ are more prominent in Sb than in Russ.

Furthermore, the two mid vowels, /e/ and /o/, combined make up almost as much as /a, i, u/ together, that is, in Sb 46.82% vs. 50.23%, in Russ 45.35% vs. 49.78%, respectively.

In terms of distinctive features of the vowels, the vocalic picture of both the Russ and Sb stressed syllable, leaving aside the vocalic /r/ in Sb, is further marked by the following two relationships: firstly, an overwhelming predominance of mid and back vowels over the front vowels, and secondly, of mid and low vowels over the high ones.

In Russ, the stressed non-front vowels /o, a, y, u/ are almost three and a half times as numerous as the front /e, i/ (non-front 77.18%, front 22.79%), and a similar disproportion exists in the relationship between the total for the non-high /o, a, e/ and the total for high vowels, /i, y, u/, (non-high 75.38%, high 24.59%).

In Sb, there are twice as many non-front vowels (64.18%) than front vowels (32.87%), and almost thrice as many non-high vowels (71.96%) than the high ones (25.09%). The difference between Russ and Sb is only in that in the former the two relationships are more pronounced, especially the first one, i.e., the preference for non-front stressed vowels.

For a conclusive discourse-relevant interpretation of the results obtained here, a comparison with similar data on the sound frequency distribution in Russian and Serbian is necessary. Such analyses for the Russian and Serbian languages are lacking, so that in this study the data for this corpus cannot be related to any other comparable data for either the standard or a sub-variety.

At this point, I shall just mention that the corpus frequency ranks of Sb vowels regardless of stress are /a, e, o, i, u/, which is probably the order of frequency to be expected in the language as a whole. As for the Russ corpus, a phonetic transcription accounting for vowel reduction would be necessary prior to a frequency analysis. This, however, could not be done in this thesis.

As a curiosity, frequency ranks of Russ vowel letters are o, a, e, i, u, y, which is likely to translate into the same frequency order of vowels in general as in Sb, as most o letters in Russ represent an unstressed /a/.

The overall incidence of stressed vowels presented above reveals a general predominance of back and non-front vowels in general rather than front vowels, and of mid and low rather than high vowels.

2.2.2 Assonance

In the literature on Russian proverbs assonance, unlike alliteration, is either neglected or regarded as an unimportant device of repetition. Guershoon, for instance, regards assonance, along with rhyme, rhythm and alliteration, as a mere "ornament", and claims that "the number of Russian proverbs with an assonance or an alliteration is not very great" (1941:94).

It is thus surprising that repetitions of stressed vowels that I take to represent assonance occur quite frequently: in Russ in 26.6% of all proverbs in the corpus, and in 31.4% of the Sb proverbs. In addition, in some proverbs it is an assonance of two stressed vowels. Furthermore, a related phenomenon that I term assonantial parallelism (see 2.2.2.1.1 and 2.2.2.1.2.2) is also often encountered: in 28.4% and 20% of Russ and Sb proverbs in the corpus, respectively. Four patterns of the former and two patterns of the latter are discussed in this section in accordance with whether the repetition involves a single vowel or a vowel pattern.

2.2.2.1 Assonance of stressed vowels

A brief note about my marking the stress in the Russian corpus is necessary before I begin discussing assonance of stressed vowels.

Indeed, different speakers or readers may put emphasis on different segments within the same proverb, depending on what they give prominence to in their encoding or decoding of the proverb.[13] This possibility of different readings of the same proverb means also that the stress, especially the secondary stress, may be differently distributed. For instance, when one native speaker of Russian pronounces Russ 257 */Ne tO dOrogo, štO krAsnovo*

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[13]Two native speakers of Russ were asked to read a selection of proverbs.

zOlota, a dOrogo, štO dObrovo masterstvA/ placing the first stress on *tO*, it seems that in doing so s/he chooses to emphasize the negation of the referent of this demonstrative pronoun and the noun *zolota* (the rhythmic pattern in word-initial occurrence of stress then begins with *to*, and ends, contrary to our expectation, on the final syllable in the end-word). When another native speaker places the first stress on *NE*, the prominence is instead given to the parallelism and rhythmic organization through sequencing of stressed and unstressed vowels */NE to dOrogo (...), a dOrogo (...)/*. This latter reading is not blocked by an obvious need for emphasizing the semantic prominence of the negated *to* (which is what the first speaker does), since *to* receives such emphasis from being moved from its un-marked position (*/*Ne dOrogo tO, čtO krAsnovo zOlota, a dOrogo .../*) forward, to a marked position, the one following *ne*. Regardless of what the choice of stress or intonation emphasis is, this shift of *to* takes place in an obvious rhythmic sequencing of stress units in such a way that breaks occur following a four-syllable word stressed on the initial syllable.

Because of the complexity in stress distribution illustrated by the example just given, in my marking stress in the Russ corpus, a secondary stress is assigned wherever an emphasis of a kind was likely, in particular if it is at the same time supported by a pattern in parallelism of stressed vowels. Consequently, unreduced vowels in Russ are marked as stressed, be it a primary or a secondary stress.

In Table 2.1 above the overall incidence of stressed vowels was presented. Let us now examine the frequencies of repetition of particular vowels in a single proverb. It is among these repetitions of a stressed vowel, and in their combinations, that I find <u>assonance</u> or <u>assonantial parallelism</u>, as is shown in the subsequent discussion. The table that follows presents the statistics for all repetitions of a stressed vowel, beginning with minimal repetition, i.e., two stressed vowels in a proverb. It should be emphasized that, although the extent of stressed vowel repetitions is a good overall indicator of the euphonic likeness and rhythmic organization in the proverbs that are analyzed, not all these repetitions are regarded as assonance.

Table 2.2: Repetition of stressed vowels and vocalic /r/

	Russian									Serbian						
occurr ences	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	11	2	3	4	5	6	7	total Russ/Sb
O	124	67	28	8	3	2		2		108	55	21	3			234/187
A	122	67	21	5	3		1	1	1	123	40	11	2	2	2	221/180
E	62	9	1							88	23	7	1			72/119
I	42	10	3	1						63	16	3	1			56/83
U	36	9	1	1						40	13	1			1	47/55
Y	17	1														18/0
R										3	1					0/4
total	403	163	54	15	6	2	1	3	1	325	148	43	7	2	3	648/528

It can be seen, first, that the frequencies of stressed vowels in repetition in a proverb shown in the table are in general directly proportionate to the overall frequencies of stressed vowels, i.e., those that are frequent in general are also often found to repeat in a proverb. In agreement with the overall frequency of stressed vowels, the evidence also shows, firstly, identical frequency ranks in the order of the totals for stressed vowel repetition for Russ and Sb, and secondly, that particularly prominent in repetition in a proverb are stressed /o/ and /a/.

Stressed /a/, compared to stressed /o/, is the vowel that is repeated in the few proverbs with record numbers of occurrences of a single stressed vowel, but, more relevantly, it occurs 3, 4 of 5 times per proverb in fewer proverbs than does stressed /o/, which is indeed the single stressed vowel most often found in assonance, as the discussion below shows.

2.2.2.1.1 Single vowel assonance

Assonance of stressed vowels is discussed here primarily in dependence on the following two structural factors: firstly, the number of stressed syllables, or accent units, in a proverb, and secondly, the distribution of the identical stressed vowels in the propositions. Consequentially, special attention is paid to assonantial parallelism, particularly in bipartite proverbs.

Maximal assonance of stressed vowels occurs, of course, when the number of stressed vowels in repetition equals the number of accent units in the proverb; for instance, in a proverb with three stressed words, or three accent units, in which there are three occurrences of stressed /e/.

Minimal assonance is, technically speaking, found in a two-fold occurrence of the same stressed vowel. In this case, however, the above-mentioned two structural factors necessarily need to be considered.

Two-fold occurrence of the same stressed vowel, as a minimal repetition, in most proverbs does not have much significance for the likeness, or musical quality, of sound in the proverb, that is, unless it occurs in repetition of the same word. However, in light of this statement, the following finding about overall incidence of double occurrence of the same stressed vowel is interesting. About 40 per cent of all occurrences of stressed /i, e, a/ in the Sb corpus are found in minimal repetition within the same proverb, i.e., in two words having stress on the identical vowel. This percentage is lower for stressed /o, u, r/.

Minimal repetition of the same stressed vowel, however, attains much more relevance in dependence on the following two factors: 1) the position in which it occurs, and 2) lexical length of the proverb. It becomes salient especially in these two instances: a) when a stressed vowel repeats contiguously in a proverb with merely two, three or four stressed words, and b) when the same stressed vowel occurs in a **parallel** manner in either the initial or final position in each proposition, particularly when the propositions are marked by syntactic and/or metric parallelism. Both in type a) and b), minimal repetition of a stressed vowel is considered assonance, the former termed minimal contiguous assonance, and the latter minimal parallel assonance.

2.2.2.1.1.1 Minimal contiguous assonance

Minimal contiguous assonance refers, in the first instance, to contiguous two-fold occurrences of a stressed vowel in proverbs with two, three or four stress units, and, in the second instance, in a few proverbs with five stress units, if no vowels other than the repeated one(s) occur in one of the propositions.

Understandably, minimal assonance is also the most numerous kind. In this section I shall therefore concentrate only on the most salient varieties.

In its single occurrence, leaving aside the proverbs with the identity of the stressed vowel due to word repetition, e.g., Sb 395 /*RUžna rUžnu Ište*/,

minimal assonance is found in 68 Sb proverbs and in 37 Russ ones. There are found also several instances of double, or complex minimal assonance.

Most often it is the assonance of vowels characterized with minus high and minus front distinctive features (in other words, the absence of height and frontedness), i.e., /o/ or /a/, particularly in Russ, where the two combined make up approximately 80% of all minimal assonances (assonance of each /i, y, u/ occurs in Russ only in 2 or 3 instances). The difference in frequency between /o, a/ (60%) on the one hand and /e, i, u/ (40%) on the other in Sb is not as great as in Russ. The order of frequency ranks of the vowels found in minimal assonance in Sb is /o, a, e, i, u/.

This overall prevalence of minimal assonance of /o/ and /a/ in both Russ and Sb is a characteristic of assonance in general, as will be seen in the analysis of other patterns below, and it coincides with the prominence of these two vowels among the stressed vowels in general, which combined make up approximately 63% and 53% of all stressed vowels in Russ and Sb, respectively (see Table 2.1 and the related discussion above).

In proverbs with five stress units it is found in 9 Russ and 4 Sb proverbs, in most of which it is supported with an identical vowel occurring in the other proposition, e.g. in Russ 331 (I/I/AUI) or 486 (UU/EUI), and in Sb 43 (AUI/UU) or 494 (I I/EOI).

In proverbs with four stressed units a curiosity is that minimal assonance in Sb appears mostly in the final two stressed words (in the final, 19; in the initial, 8), while in Russ it is found more or less evenly in both positions. Another interesting feature is that minimal assonance in Sb occurs mostly in disyllables, hence the identical vowels are also in the same, initial, syllable, e.g., Sb 103 */ĐE je Obraz tU je i dUša/*, 388 */RAdnja je za čOeka, a štEdnja za žEnu/* and 263. As in Sb 103, the position of stress tends to be parallel in general, i.e., in trisyllables as well: Sb 24 */BOg visOko, a cAr dalEko/*, or 48 */VInograd nE ište mOlitve, nego mOtike/*. In the just cited Sb examples, one can also notice the parallelism in the syllabic length (isosyllabism) of the stressed words, and the rhythmic alternation of stress units. Both features represent a general tendency particularly in Sb, which is discussed in 2.6.2.2 below.

The same two tendencies are also a feature of this variety in Russ, i.e., the words with minimal assonance tend to be isosyllabic, and to have the stress in the same syllable (only more often in the final syllable, or in the

penultimate) e.g., Russ 328 */PoklOn s xoxlOm, čeloblt'je š šYškoj/* and 448 */F sxvAtke ščAst'je — vellkoe dElo/*, also in 71, 82, 144 and 376. Failing the identical position of the stress, it is rhythmically distributed so that it falls onto the same syllable in the odd and in the even stressed words, as in Russ 201 */Na bOga nadEjsa, a sAm ne plošAj/*, 286 */NeznAemaja pr'amiznA navOdit na kriviznU/* and 390.

Besides the semantic contrast between the propositions in 201 and between the two nouns in 286 above, as a feature frequently associated with the parallelism and bipartiteness of the proverbs with four stress units, and others, the two just cited proverbs also illustrate a more subtle binding of parallelism and contrast, the one in the interweaving of the stress position and assonance. In 2.2.2.1.2.3 below some complex variations are described. At this point I shall just point at a simple form, which in Russ 201 and 286 consists of the following. The identity of the two stressed vowels in the final proposition in Russ 201 (OE/AA) stands in opposition to the diversity of the two in the initial proposition. The same is true for 286 (AAOU), only the units here are the subject and the predicate phrases, and assonance occurs initially. In both proverbs, assonance is at the same time interlaced into a rhythmic contrasting of the position of the stress (the position of the stressed syllable in 201 is 1-2-1-2, in 286: 2-3-2-3).

In Sb proverbs with three stress units, as in those with four, minimal assonance is found in the two final stressed vowels much more often than in the initial ones (16 vs. 9), while no such preference exists in the analogous Russ variety.

Furthermore, minimal assonance in these proverbs rarely occurs due to morphological repetition (in Russ 230 */NAskoro dElat' — peredElyvat'/*, Sb 151 */Istiha se pečEnica pEče/* and Sb 288). It is the most effective when the two words rhyme, as in Russ 114 */IkOny ne pokupAjut, a men'Ajut/*, Sb 278 */NE bi dOsta kad ne Osta/* and 349 */Otišao je stld u zld/*, or when there is also an identity of unstressed vowels in the same word, e.g., Russ 175, or in the unusual example with vocalic /r/ in Sb 378 */PrijEkor je gRđi ot smRti/*, also in Sb 59, 301 and 340; or when there is also repetition of consonants, as in Russ 175 and 255, or Sb 373 */PrAvda je dAvno pOginula/*. With one exception, in all of these proverbs in the Sb corpus minimal assonance is emphasized by the parallelism of the position of the stressed vowel. Since

monosyllables and disyllables prevail, it is interesting to note that minimal assonance in all Sb proverbs in this group occurs in the initial syllable.

Finally, among the proverbs with minimal assonance of a single vowel, there are several instances both in Russ and Sb in which the vowels in the only two stressed syllables are identical. Interestingly, the even number of stress units brings us back to bipartiteness, which is, besides all the just mentioned features, found in seven out of the ten Russ and Sb proverbs in this group (combined). These proverbs are Russ 240 */Ne žilOj — ne živOj/*, 244, 344 and 438, and in Sb, 322 */Ni svAgđe, ni svAšto/*, 7, 42, 348, 377 and 435.

In a complex form, i.e., two-fold occurrence of two vowels in a single proverb, minimal assonance is marked by the same features as the preceding group of proverbs. However, there is seen in addition an association of the contrast between the two repetitions of stressed vowels, on the one hand, and semantic contrast, on the other, in all these proverbs in Russ and most of these proverbs in Sb. Examples are Russ 121 */Živ'Oca — pojOca; umirAeca — dr'agAeca/* and Sb 243 */LOvci su da lOve, a prEpelice da bjEže/*, and other instances are Russ 26, 53, 113, 192 and 408, and Sb 27, 28, 93, 98, 200, 407 and 483. Common to both Russ and Sb is the parallelism and repetition in grammar, while they differ in that in Russ the assonance tends to appear in the desinence or the final vowel of the stem, while in Sb it tends to be in the initial syllable. This difference is explained by the difference in accentuation in the two languages. The same is the source of the assonance in Sb proverbs often being intensified by an identity of the accent and/or post-accentual length, e.g., the repetition of both intonation and quantity (in the short-rising accent) in all four stressed vowels, as well as of post-accentual quantity in the odd stress units in Sb 243 above.

2.2.2.1.1.2 Minimal parallel assonance

Assonantial parallelism of two stressed vowels is appears to be particularly salient in proverbs with four stress units, i.e., two stress units in each proposition. It is typically found in proposition-final stress units, and less often in the initial stress units, e.g., in Russ 116 */IstOra dešev A, dA korYzd' dorogA/* or in Sb 138 */Iza zIme tOplo, iza klše sUnce/* or 225 */KO Umije, tOmu dvlje/*. Since such assonantial parallelism of stressed vowels is almost always part of rhyme, these proverbs with minimal parallel assonance

of stressed vowels are dealt with in the analysis of rhyme in 2.7 below. Minimal assonantial parallelism which does not qualify for rhyme is found in 11 proverbs in each Russ and in 12 proverbs in Sb. In addition to the Sb examples above, these proverbs are Russ 5, 66, 168, 183, 343, 350, 371, 447, 454, 480 and 497, and Sb 119, 120, 205, 228, 286, 376, 396, 423, 426 and 452.

The stressed-vowel assonantial parallelism is, of course, only the most salient variety of assonance. An interesting example of rhythmic sequencing of identical stressed and unstressed vowels is found, for instance, in Sb 490 */ŠAljiva drUga / drUžina ljUbi/*, in a symmetrical decasyllable (5 + 5) proverb, in which there is seen identity of unstressed vowels in odd words (trisyllabic) and of stressed vowels in even (disyllabic) words. The shifting in assonantial and syllabic length patterning between odd and even words is in this proverb intensified by the same technique in accent distribution — short-rising in odd words, long-falling in even words — and in the shifted (inverted) order of constituents (rheme + theme, unmarked would be *Družina ljubi šaljiva druga*). As a result of such an intensive modeling in the structure, the identity of stressed /u/ in even words is probably more salient than its contiguous triple occurrence.

2.2.2.1.1.3 Framing assonance

Mostly in proverbs having **three** stress units, there is found an interesting framing assonance, consisting in the identity of the initial and the final stressed vowels, in 20 instances in Sb and in 12 in Russ.

The most important feature of these proverbs is their monopartiteness, e.g., Russ 369 */SapOžnik fsegdA bes sapogOf/*, 395 */SpAlenoe dOlgo pAxnet/*, Sb 16 */Bez zbOra nEma dOgovora/* or 56 */VrEme slAmu jEde/*. These proverbs are short and consist of a single clause, therefore there is no chance for a syntactic parallelism, in contrast with the patterns of assonance typically associated with proverbs with four stress units, or any even number. Rather than co-relating two ideas, monopartite proverbs usually express a statement about an aspect, or condition concerning the realization of the predicate, and comprise thus only three syntactic positions: subject, predicate and object or adverbial complement. Other instances with triple stress units are Russ 74, 127, 202, 223, 235, 246, 249, 299, 303 and Sb 139, 146, 155, 160, 259, 272, 310, 331, 354, 371, 380, 488 and 493.

When this assonantial frame appears in front of and after more than a single stress unit, the proverb is, characteristically, bipartite, as happens in Sb 211 */KO mUdro mUči, mUdro gOvori/* and 398 */SvAgđe je dObro, al' kOt kuće nAjbolje/*.

Number three as an expression of structural composition at a linguistic level (e.g., the level of the stress units, as illustrated with this group of proverbs) is in the proverbs in my corpus evidently much less important than number two.

However, these proverbs contradict the claim that all proverbs in Russ are bipartite (Levin 1964), and I shall examine a number of monopartite proverbs later in the thesis in particular in relation to this kind of triality in the segmentation of their structure (see 4.9.3), in order to find out whether these proverb represent a distinct formula. At that point I shall also discuss an evident relevance of bipartiteness and tripartiteness in the structure of proverbial discourse.

2.2.2.1.1.4 Multiple assonance

Assonance, as well as the closely related rhyme, are in Sb related in a special way to the stress shift on to the proclitic.

Proclitics in the ijekavic dialects of the Serbian language are stressed if followed by a word with the falling accent. Thus, proverbs with a proclitic may have alternative accent distribution: one with accent on the accented word following a proclitic, and the other with the accent shifted on to the proclitic. Stress shift is optional in standard Serbian, with the exception of the particle *ne* preceding a verb with a falling accent, in which case it is obligatory. The stress shift is predictable if a proverb is marked by any of the following features which are typical for the ijekavic Serbian dialects: a) a word with a reflex of the Proto-Slavic jat', b) aorist, c) infinitive, or d) any evidence of its association with epic poetry. In proverbs with any of these features, I therefore place stress on the proclitic(s) and not on the subsequent word(s).

Occasionally there are no such features, so that it is difficult to associate the proverb with a particular dialect, and appropriately mark accent distribution. In such proverbs either reading is appropriate. In such instances, e.g., Sb 4, 39, 47, I mark the accent on the word following the proclitic.

Stress shift and post-accentual length are a source of assonance in Sb that I shall only point to but not analyze in detail.[14] The effects of stress shift can be seen in examples such as Sb 173 */Kad se đEvojka prOsi, tOrba se nE nosi/*, in which *prosi — nosi* rhyme, and stress (which is lexically in the initial syllable of the verbs) is shifted from *nosi* on to the preceding negative particle. The vowel in the particle becomes acoustically salient, while /o/ in *nosi* likely remains salient in the speaker's mental image of the signifier (De Saussure's 'acoustical image'). Consequently, this /o/ in *nosi*, as well as the unstressed but long /o/ in *đEvojka*, are also part of an extended assonance of /o/. (Another salient vocalic pair can be seen in the long post-accentual /i/ in both verbs.) The vowel receiving the shifted stress becomes then part of an assonantial pair with a post-accentually long vowel, which is not rare in negated present tense forms, e.g., Sb 320 */Ni pAs gOle kOsti nE glođe/*.

The particle *ne* receives the shifted accent when followed by a verb with a falling accent. Proverbs with accented *ne* are the following: 9, 10, 12, 13, 18, 25, 26, 29, 48, 58, 60, 76, 84, 85, 89, 107, 126, 128, 161, 165, 173, 185, 208, 212, 213, 268, 278, 279, 281-3, 285, 287, 292, 305, 311, 362, 369, 372, 380-1, 387, 394, 425, 430, 437, 443, 465.

Turning to the analysis of multiple assonance of stressed vowels, I shall first merely illustrate what is presumably its least salient form. It occurs in the identity of three or four contiguous stressed vowels co-occurring with a number of non-assonantial stressed vowels. There are nine and ten such instances in Russ and Sb, respectively. Examples are Russ 47 */DOlgo li, skOro li, a fs'O bUdet konEc/*, or in Sb EOOOA in 163 */JEzik gOre mOže pOsjeći nego mAč/*.

This variety of assonance becomes more effective when associated with some other device of repetition. For instance in Russ 68 */GdE xvOst načAlo, tAm golovA močAlo/* the assonance co-occurs with rich rhyme and syntactic parallelism, identical stress position and isosyllabism (i.e., sameness of the syllabic length) of the proposition-final words. A good example is also the isosyllabism of the stressed words, and the prosodic repetition manifested in full sameness both of the position of the stress and accent itself (short-rising) in Sb 260 */MOkroj zEmlji mAlo dAžda vAlja/*. The structural modeling by means of repetition of these syllabic, prosodic and phonological devices

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[14]The analysis of assonance is limited to stressed vowels.

together effects in a very rhythmic succession of words, despite the brevity of the proverb.

Various other forms of multiple occurrence of a stressed vowel can be found, such as the unusual triple vocalic /r/ in the assonance and rhyme in the paronomastic Sb 229 */KRpež i tRpež po svljeta dRže/* (note also the repetition of /p/ and /ž/) or 'scattered' multiple repetition of a stressed vowel, as in Sb 69 (AAOA/OEARAA). To take just one more variation, an interesting rare assonantial-alliterative /r/, following the initial consonant, occurs also in every stressed word in Sb 378, and in every word in 434 */TvRda vrEća prOhu dRži/*.

However, I limit the analysis of multiple assonance of stressed vowels to those proverbs in which stressed vowel(s) repeat(s) either in contiguity or in parallelism.

More effective and interesting are therefore the two patterns of assonance of a single stressed vowel that I term interrupted or contrasted assonance, and 'perfect' assonance, and the three patterns of complex assonance termed co-occurring two-fold assonance, assonantial parallelism, and assonantial sequencing. These are the focus of the two sections that follow.

2.2.2.1.1.4.1 Interrupted or contrasted multiple assonance

Particularly in proverbs with four stress units, but also in longer proverbs, there is found an assonantial pattern in which the identity of stressed vowels co-occurs with a single distinctive stressed vowel. There are three varieties of this pattern.

The first variety is a feature of proverbs with four stress units only, in which assonance in two syntactically parallel words is strengthened by the occurrence of an identical vowel in another stressed word. Since one of the four stressed vowels is different and occurs either as the second or the third, this pattern represents a minimal interrupted rhythmic euphony of three stressed vowels, contrasted by a single different stressed vowel. In Russ there are 22 such instances, and in Sb 23. Examples are Russ 164 */KudA koz'Ol, tudA i barAn/* and 166 */KukUška kukUet — gOre veščUet/*. It can be seen that, on the one hand, two out of three identical stressed vowels coincide with the syntactic parallelism of the words in which they appear, i.e., *kUda* —

tUda in Russ 164 and *kukUet — veščUet* in 166, and that, on the other hand, the informational emphasis rests on the word with the interrupting, hence contrastive, stressed vowel. Others proverbs with this variety in Russ are 18, 24, 27, 38, 109, 115, 130, 195, 203, 222, 263, 264, 287, 339, 372, 373, 375, 386, 392, 488 and 489). It is interesting to note that most often it is the assonance of stressed /o/ (9 instances) or /a/ (7 instances) that is encountered in this variety.

In Sb too, the most often repeated vowels are /a/, in 8 proverbs, and /o/, in 6 proverbs, e.g., AA/OA in 148 and 453, and OU/OO in the two variants of the same proverb in 261 */MOja kUćica mOja slobOdica/* and 408 */SvOja kUćica svOja vOljica/*. Other examples in Sb are 3, 14, 118, 132, 145, 159, 164, 177, 178, 186, 247, 265, 335, 462, 478 and 492.

The second variety of interrupted or contrasted assonance involves at least four identical stressed vowels and does not show any particular pattern of parallelism between them. It is a characteristic of the Russ proverbs, where 13 such instances are found, while only four occur in the Sb corpus. A curiosity is that, with two exceptions, Russ proverbs belonging to this variety have assonance of stressed /o/. An example with four occurrences of stressed /o/ is Russ 154 */KtO podnOsit, tOt sAm ne prOsit/*, while some proverbs with a more extensive interrupted sequences of /o/ are Russ 152 (OUO/OOO), 73 (O/OO//OY/OO), 336 (O/OE//OOO/OO), and 477 (OO//OOO//OO//OEO).

In the third variety, the euphony in a successive multiple assonance is contrasted in 24 Russ and 18 Sb proverbs not with interruption, but with either an introductive or conclusive occurrence of a different stressed vowel, i.e., either initial or final. In the minimal form, this is found, for instance, in Russ 64 */GdE stAl, tAm i stAn/*, or 248 */Ne pojmAl karas'A — pojmAeš ščUku/* and in Sb 180 */KAkva mAjka onAka i ćErka/* or 427 */StAra kOkoš dObra čOrba/*. As can be seen in these examples, proverbs with four stress units belonging to this variety also feature bipartiteness and syntactic parallelism as the most salient characteristic. In this respect the first and the third variety are the same, but they differ with regard to the position of the contrastive vowel, which is interruptive in the former but not in the latter variety. As in the former two varieties of this pattern, the alliterative vowel is most often /a/ or /o/.

Other proverbs of this variety are Russ 34, 41, 43, 54, 65, 142, 159, 190, 229, 271, 301, 311, 349, 364, 391, 402, 432, 468 and 483; and in Sb: 10, 46, 78, 81, 111, 156, 199, 235, 361, 383, 393, 416, 446, 467 and 490.

2.2.2.1.1.4.2 'Perfect' multiple assonance

Maximal assonance of a single stressed vowel, i.e., sameness of all stressed vowels in a proverb, is found in 25 Russ and 12 Sb proverbs. The first curiosity to note is that all of these in Russ except Russ 224 repeat the stressed /a/ or /o/, while in the Sb those with /o/ are in the majority (assonance of the stressed /e/ and /i/ each also occurs twice). Another feature of this group of proverbs is that, while the number of stress units ranges from 3 to 6, most often it is **four**, which points at the already noted binary segmentation of the proverbs into two propositions.

Moreover, roughly half of all the proverbs of this pattern consist of four stress units marked by identity of the stressed vowel: in Russ in 13 proverbs, out of which ten are assonances with /o/, and in Sb in six such proverbs. The first three Russ examples, 98 */ŠtO grešnO, tO i smešnO/*, 100 */ŠtO ni naživ'Oš, tO i proživ'Oš/* and 102 */ŠtO za kOf, tO i za nOš/*, and the first two Sb ones, 210 */KO mOže, i kOnj mu mOže/* and 270 */Na kOga su mnOzi, na tOgaj su rOzi/*, represent a pattern marked by a relative-demonstrative word-pair that belongs to one of the three bipartite formulae of correlative parallelism described in Chapter IV (4.9.2). The most salient features of these proverbs are general syntactic and metric parallelism and parallelism of the stress position, as well as grammatical repetition, and rhyme. Most other instances of quadruple assonance of /o/, and these are Russ 173, 174, 210, 270, 382, 455, 475, Sb 351, share the same features and devices of repetition with those belonging to the correlative parallelism formula, but the latter belong to another semantic type, termed contrastive parallelism formula, e.g., Russ 174 */LOška m'Odu, bOčka d'Oxt'u/* or Sb 351 */Oči vOde a nOge nOse/* (see 4.9.2).

2.2.2.1.2 Complex assonance: repetition of stressed vowel sequences

2.2.2.1.2.1 Co-occurring two-fold assonance of stressed vowels

This pattern, which occurs in 16 Sb proverbs and 8 Russ ones, comprises **two** sequences of identical vowels, usually two plus three.

In a few instances, the two assonances are separated by the proposition boundary, i.e., assonance of one vowel occurs in one proposition, and assonance of the other vowel occurs in the contrary proposition, e.g., in Russ 80 */GOre — štO mOre: ni pereplYt', ni vYlakat'/*, 169 (I I I/OO) or Sb 431 */SUnce grlje, KIša Ide, VjEštice se lEgu/*. More often, however, such two-fold assonance occurs in a mutually interwoven pattern and is inter-connected with rhyme across the proposition boundary, as the following examples illustrate.

Except for Russ 388 */SlepOj xOt' Oščup'ju, dA brodIt; a zr'A i zr'Ačij spotykAeca/*, all proverbs in this group are characterized by rhyme and structural binarism, so that assonance and rhyme are engaged in the mutual emphasizing of one another. With respect to this intimate relationship of rhyme and assonance, it is interesting to note that the rhyme in the proposition contrary to the one with the more numerous assonance sometimes occurs as an assonantial extension of parallelism (which is also concurrent with grammatical parallelism), e.g., in Russ 403 */SvekrOf' kOšku b'jOt, a nevEske navEtki dajOt/* and 453, or Sb 367 and 47. A related form is a kind of assonantial enjambment[15] into the other proposition; when the same stressed vowel occurs in the first stressed word in the contrary proposition, e.g. Sb 201 */KOje Oči zlO čIne, One i po svijEtu glEde/*, Sb 127 */ZEc đE se Okoti Onđe i pOgine/*, 386 */PUšku, žEnu i kOnja mOže čOek pokAzati, ali u nAruč ne dAvati/*, or Sb 399, 202 and 117.

The result of such intimate association of assonance of two stressed vowels and rhyme is a musical quality which too is characterized by binarism.

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[15]Enjambment is in versification used in reference to a different phenomenon. Here it refers to an extension of assonance across the proposition-boundary, which I find to be the same technique.

2.2.2.1.2.2 Complex assonantial parallelism

We already saw above (2.2.2.1.1.2), that minimal assonance of stressed vowels often occurs in parallelism, especially in proverbs with four stress units. It is among these proverbs with **four** stress-units that a full repetition of a **pair** of distinct stressed vowels in each proposition is found. Such an instance therefore represents a complex or two-fold assonantial parallelism.

Some of these vowel sequences are found in more than one proverb. Assonantial parallelism in the OE/OE sequence, as in Russ 22 */BOgu-to s pErst', a čOrtu-to s pEst/* occurs in six Russ proverbs (others are 153, 158, 218, 254, 439), and in the OA/OA sequence in Russ 75, 346 and 431. In this vowel sequence, the stressed /o/ repeats twice in the *kto — tot* word-pair, and once in *skol'ko — stol'ko* and *čto — to*, while the stressed /e/ curiously occurs in (rhyming) monosyllabic words ending in a consonant. The following each occur in Russ twice: AI/AI in 239, 342, AU/AU in 48, 291, OA//OA in 346, 431, UA/UA in 215, 232, and UO/UO in 91 and 233. The single most frequent sequence in Sb proverbs consists of the same vowels as the second most frequent one in Russ, but in reverse order: AO/AO, in Sb 90 */Dok se bAba dOvuče, svAdba se prOvuče/*, 158, 179, 409.

As can be seen, the vast majority of these sequences consist of vowels characterized by non-front and non-high features. The only exceptions, involving more contrast between the vowels, are AI/AI in the two Russ proverbs and AE/AE in Sb 110 and 325. Similar is a triple vowel sequence, OAI/OAI in Russ 49 and OOI/OOI in Russ 148.

Practically all these proverbs are characterized by most if not all of the following features: an intensive grammatical repetition, rhyme, syntactic parallelism, semantic contrast, and sometimes word repetition.

In proverbs with four stress units, this two-fold assonantial parallelism between two identical sequences of stressed vowels in the two propositions is complete. In a less salient variety, it occurs also in proverbs with five or, less often, more stress units, where it is partial, e.g., EAA/EA in Sb 57 and 436. There are 13 such proverbs in Sb and one in Russ.

2.2.2.1.2.3 Complex assonantial sequencing

The rhythmic organization or flow of alternating identical and/or similar groups of stressed vowels can be found particularly in relatively long sequences of stress units. In these vowel sequences, a variety of diverse forms of approximate parallelism between such groups of stressed vowels, occurring either in the propositions, or in intonation units, is found. Because of this diversity of forms, the discussion is limited to illustrating only a few of the variations, even though the number of such proverbs is large: 82 and 48 in Russ and Sb, respectively.

For instance, in Russ 324 */PodI f korobEjku, podAj kopEjku; podI f sundučOk, podAj p'atačOk; podI v ognIvenku, podAj grIvenku/* the rhythmic organization, in the IE/AE//IO/AO//I I/AI sequence, is based on the following: succession of the clauses (intonation units) each consisting of two stress units, identity of the first stressed vowel both in odd and in even intonation units (I vs. A), and a framing effect created by the identity of the final vowel in sequences of two intonation units (E - O - I). As can be seen, the rhythm modelled by the assonantial parallelism and alternation in this proverb is a result of the repetition of identical syntactic structures in the clauses, of complex and multiple grammatical repetition, and word repetition. Of course, rhythmic organization is also evident in the metrical structure and rhyme.

The same kind of association of rhythmic assonantial parallelism and alliteration with grammatical (particularly syntactic) and lexical repetition can be seen especially in other Russ long proverbs. The most characteristic instances are Russ 199 (IAA/AE/AAO/AE), 257 (OO/OAO/O/OOA), 258 (OOA/OIE/OEA), 259 (I/AY/AI/AI), 269 (EAUO//AO/AA//AA/AA//AA//OA/O), 295 (I/AO/AE/AOA/AAO/AAE), 300 (EA/UA/A/AA), 304 (A/AA/A/OA), 321 (A//OA//A//OA), 324 (IE/AE//IO/AO//IE/AE), 332 (UI/AI/U//UEA/I//U//AU), 335 (A//UI//A//EY), 396 (A/OA/A/OO), 409 (EUE/AUA/UAU), 420 (U/OA/EU/OA), 430 (AO/AEA//EA), 457 (OAA/AOA//AAA/AOA), or 474 (IA/IA/EA/OA).

An example in Sb is 303 with the EI/EA/EA/EI stressed vowel sequence: */NEsta vIna, nEsta rAzgovora, nEsta blAga, nEsta prIjatelja/*. In this proverb, rhythm and parallelism in assonantial alternation stem from

syntactic and lexical repetition, and are intensified by the parallelism of long (*vlna — blAga*) and short (*rAzgovora — prljatelja*) vowels. Other similar examples include Sb 1 (OA/IA//OI/I I), 91 (EU/UAU/EU/UUU), 134 (RR/EO//AA/EE//AA/EO), 218 (OIU/AI/OAU/A), 249 (AE/AI/EE/EI), 306 (EUI/EOI/AOI), 324 (U/O/I/O/O/I) and 346 (EUU/AA//EE/AA).

2.2.2.2 Stylistic functions and relationship with other devices of repetition

As in any literary discourse, the role of assonance is in the first instance, of course, the creation of a musical, or euphonic, quality in the expression. The same role of assonance of stressed vowels is also revealed in this analysis. This is the case especially in 'perfect' assonance, i.e., in proverbs in which there is a multiple occurrence of identical stressed vowel. The same applies also to multiple repetitions of two stressed vowels, in which then the euphony is not the one of an absolute sameness of salient sounds, but rather a euphonic duality, which often coincides with the bi-propositional segmentation of the proverb. It is curious that this musical quality created by the assonance of stressed vowels is rather monolithic, and acoustically usually characterized by the absence of the features of vocalic height and frontedness, as the predominating vowels in assonance are /o/ and /a/, particularly in Russ.

The analysis of the repetition of vowel sequences per intonation unit (segments normally separated by pause — which usually correspond with the use of punctuation marks — and in short proverbs normally coinciding with two propositions, or clauses) provided information not only on the repetition of individual stressed vowels and parallelism between stressed vowel sequences, but also an indication of rhythm associated with the successive occurrence of such mutually co-measurable sequences of stressed vowels (i.e., co-measurable according to the number and quality of vowels).

The evidence shows that more characteristic than euphony, which is a feature of longer proverbs, is the role of assonantial patterning resulting in phonological parallelism, and in **rhythmic** organization of the structure. This is found both in long and short proverbs, particularly in those consisting of four stress units and/or bipartite structure. In such proverbs, there is an additional effect seen in the phonological contrast between the assonances of

two vowels in a single proverb, although the two are often at the same time acoustically similar, i.e., when the vowels are /o/ and /a/.

Stressed vowels can be frequently seen lining up in sequences identical or nearly identical in the two propositions, which therefore often stand in parallelism with one another. The role in the creation and cumulation of overall parallelism that repetition of such vowel sequences has in proverbs is comparable to a similar pattern in word-initial alliteration, described in 2.3.2.1.3 below.

Assonantial parallelism is often a concomitant of repetition of other devices, especially syntactic structure, grammatical properties of lexical categories, and stem or word repetition. As a rule, it is furthermore often intensified by the identity of the stress position, and sometimes intricately interwoven with repetition and parallelisms in prosody, particularly in Sb proverbs.

Assonantial parallelism in the proverbs having an even number of stress units usually corresponds with bipartite structure and parallelism in general as dominant characteristics of such proverbs. It is characteristic that stressed vowel assonance and repetition of stress position are not as prominent in the single-proposition proverbs as in the bipartite ones. This is explained by the fact that repetition of the same stressed vowel is frequently an element of some other form of parallelism, such as in grammatical desinences and rhyme in particular. This formal parallelism, as will be also shown in the analysis of alliteration, in repetition of syllable length and in rhyme below, is a characteristic primarily of bipartite proverbs.

2.3 Consonants

2.3.1 Frequency of occurrence

2.3.1.1 Frequency of consonants, major classes and clusters

2.3.1.1.1 Individual consonants

This section offers a comparative presentation of the frequency of all consonants in the two parts of the corpus. The purpose is to discover which consonants are marked by a relative prominence and which consonants are

rare, on the one hand, and, on the other, whether there are any regularities according to major classes of consonants. In addition to revealing the prominence of individual consonants and providing data for an insight into the distribution of consonants by some fundamental distinctive features, such as voice, in the discourse, this information will later be related to the frequencies of repetition of particular consonants in individual proverbs, as well as to their alliterations in the initial position. The counts for each Russ and Sb consonant with the percentage for the share of each consonant in the total number of all occurrences of consonants, and the frequency ranks, are given in Table 2.3 below.

Table 2.3: Frequency of consonants[16]

Russian		Serbian	
t	968 / 11.78%	n	728 / 9.91%
n	800 / 9.74%	s	569 / 7.75%
r	669 / 8.14%	k	560 / 7.62%
s	634 / 7.72%	t	547 / 7.45%
d	608 / 7.40%	j	533 / 7.26%
k	578 / 7.03%	r[17]	507 / 6.90%
v	531 / 6.46%	v	496 / 6.75%
l	499 / 6.07%	d	490 / 6.67%
m	416 / 5.06%	m	406 / 5.53%
p	403 / 4.90%	l	375 / 5.10%
j	345 / 4.20%	p	358 / 4.87%
b	311 / 3.78%	g	313 / 4.26%
g	285 / 3.47%	b	254 / 3.46%
š	245 / 2.98%	z	236 / 3.21%
z	191 / 2.32%	š	162 / 2.20%
ž	159 / 1.93%	č	142 / 1.93%
x	155 / 1.88%	ž	130 / 1.77%
č	153 / 1.86%	c	118 / 1.60%
f	117 / 1.42%	ć	98 / 1.33%
c	103 / 1.25%	đ	98 / 1.33%
šč	38 / 0.46%	lj	97 / 1.32%
ɣ[18]	5 / 0.06%	h	68 / 0.92%
		nj	54 / 0.73%
		dž	1 / 0.01%
		f	1 / 0.01%

[16]The figures combine palatalized and non-palatalized consonants in Russ.
[17]The figure for /r/ excludes the 70 occurrences of vocalic /r/.
[18]Voiced velar fricative.

Comparisons of the results shown in the table yield the following most salient relationships.

If a line is drawn in the table above at the 3.33 per cent and 6.66 per cent levels for each column, thus marking the high-frequency, mid-frequency and low-frequency groups of consonants, respectively, the first interesting comparison between Russ and Sb shows that while approximately half of the consonants are marked by low frequency in Sb, and 9 out of 22 consonants in Russ, the distribution above the low-frequency line is different between them. In Russ there are six consonants with high frequency (/t, n, r, s, d, k/) and seven consonants with mid frequency (/v, l, m, p, j, b, g/), while in Sb there are more consonants in the high-frequency group (/n, s, k, t, j, r, v, d/) than those in the mid-frequency group (/m, l, p, g, b/), i.e., eight vs. five.

2.3.1.1.2 Major consonant classes

Sonorants take most of the ranks above the low-frequency line, above which all six of them in Russ and six in Sb (the exceptions are the quite infrequent /lj, nj/) are to be found. While an equal number of voiceless consonants (6) are found in the low-frequency group in both languages, voiceless consonants occupy higher ranks than their corresponding voiced counterparts in both Russ and Sb. Also, it is the same group of voiceless consonants that is found above the low-frequency line both in Russ and Sb, although with a different order of frequency: /t, s, k, p/ in the former; /s, k, t, p/ in the latter. The order of frequency of voiced consonants common to both Russ and Sb is almost the same (except for the /b, g/ order in Russ and /g, b/ in Sb, the highest ranking voiced consonant is the same (d) but it is in the mid-frequency group in Russ while in the high-frequency group in Sb.

Since the rank distribution in the table above shows regularities based on the class of consonants according to voice, it will be interesting to see how the total occurrences of each of the three classes of consonants relate to one another.

The statistics are presented in the following table, in which a figure is given for the total occurrences of all consonants in three classes: voiced, voiceless and sonorants, which are normally voiced but not subject to distinctive devoicing in Russian. Sonorants include /v/, although in Russian

its behavior in voicing, depending on the phonological context, may be like that of voiced consonants.

Table 2.4: Frequency of consonants by type according to voicing:

	Russian	Serbian
Voiced	1559 / 18.98%	1522 / 20.73%
Voiceless	3394 / 41.32%	2623 / 35.73%
Sonorants	3259 / 39.68%	3196 / 43.53%
All consonants	8212 / 100%	7341 / 100%

Firstly, overall Russ shows a much larger number of consonants than Sb, and, secondly, a predominance of voiceless consonants among them. (There are ten voiceless consonants in each.) The difference between Russ and Sb appears to be more salient when expressed as a difference of the ratio between voiced and voiceless consonants in each language. It runs counter to the fact that the Russ corpus has 168 words fewer than the Sb one. An explanation for the larger number of consonants in Russ in the first place is in a relative commonness of consonant clusters and desinences ending in a consonant in the Russian language in general. As for the saliency of voiceless consonants in Russ, it is most likely a result of devoicing in word-final position in the Russian language, which in the Serbian language only takes place when phonologically conditioned. A third noticeable difference, the disproportion in the percentage of sonorants in each language, is mostly (about three fourths) due to a higher frequency of /j/ in Sb (7.26%) than in Russ (4.20%).

The features emerging in all three comparisons are predictable, since they appear to be the effect of various structural characteristics of the two languages in general. Thus, it is not likely that either of these characteristics is discourse-specific.

2.3.1.1.3 Consonant clusters

To finish this discussion of overall frequency of consonants, let us take a look at a few consonant clusters.

The first finding is that, on the one hand, the vast majority of consonant clusters are infrequent, but on the other hand some of them are more frequent than a large number of consonants, occurring individually or

in clusters. Those found in one per cent or more of all words are the following: in Russ *st* (4.2), *pr* (2.8), *sk* (1.6), *br* (1.4), *št, fs* (1.3 each) and *gr, kr* (1.1 each), and in Sb *st* (3.8), *sv* (2.8), *št* (1.8), *pr* (2.0), *br* (1.4) and *tr, dr* (1.0 each).

In both languages, more often than any other, **the initial consonant** in clusters is /s/, followed by /p/, while **the final** one is /r/, followed by /t/. Significant also is the fact that the most frequent initial consonant in clusters, both in Russ in Sb, is a fricative, /s/, /š/ or /f/ (the last one only in Russ) and that the only other frequent ones are the paired stops /p/ — /b/, /t/ — /d/ and /g/ — /k/ (the last pair only in Russ), in a cluster with the favorite second consonant in any cluster, the liquid /r/.

While it is obvious from the transparent similarity of the frequent clusters in Russ and Sb that the answer to their prominence should be sought first in the rules of phonological distribution in consonant clusters in Slavic languages in general, and in each of the two in particular, the analyses of word and grammatical repetition in Chapters III and IV also show that the prominence of particular word classes, roots, key words and grammatical categories and desinences is another source of their frequency. The cluster *st*, for instance, is frequently found in nouns ending in *-ost* (e. g. Sb *gost*, Russ *milost'*), the roots *star-* and *stoj-* (and its morpho-phonological alternations), the nominal desinence *-stvo* and verbal *-sti* (esp. in Sb, inf.) and the numeral *sto* (in Sb).

Additionally, there exists evidence for a certain universal preference for particular consonant clusters in alliteration. Alliterative clusters with the initial /s/ are common, for instance, in Serbian epic poetry and the poetry of romanticism (e. g., by L. Kostić, or P. P. NJegoš). In another interesting parallel, both /s/, the second most frequent consonant in word-initial alliteration (see 2.3.2.1.4.1 below), and the two most frequent clusters in the Sb corpus, *st* and *sv*, appear, in a medieval Serbian poem, in a construction of an "intricate paronomastic texture", [which emanates from] "the emblematic světilo 'luminary', the central word unit in the medial line of the heptastich" (Jakobson 1981d:201).

Later in this chapter, it is shown that the most frequent consonant clusters in the corpus also appear in repetition in the same proverb, in rhyme and alliteration in particular. Repetition of *st* in Sb, for example, creates alliteration in seven proverbs and is found in rhymes in ten proverbs.

2.3.1.2 Repetition of consonants in individual proverbs

The following is an overview and discussion of those consonants which occur three or more times in the same proverb, regardless of their position in a word. The frequency analysis is conducted for all five hundred proverbs in both Russ and Sb and the results are shown in the two tables below. For comparisons by voice, consonants are grouped as voiced, voiceless and sonorants. In addition to revealing the distribution of voicing among the recurring consonants, the data in the tables represent an expression of a general repetitiveness of a particular consonant in proverbs, thus indicating the extent to which acoustical likeness of the sounds in a proverb is achieved through repetition of a consonant. It is shown further below that only a portion of such repetitions can be counted as alliterations of the initial consonant. Nevertheless, instances of the most numerous repetitions of the same consonant in a proverb may be taken as alliterations in the broader sense.

Table 2.5: Consonant repetition in Russian proverbs

Voiced						Voiceless							Sonorants						
Count	**b**	**d**	**g**	**z**	**ž**	**p**	**t**	**k**	**s**	**š**	**č**	**c**	**x**	**j**	**v**	**r**	**l**	**m**	**n**
3	11	38	11	3	4	17	70	51	37	12	5	3	4	19	42		34	22	63
4	2	12	3		3		43	12	24	5		1	1	5	14	17	6	7	32
5	2	9				4	17	3	9				1	3		4	4	1	9
6		2					6		1						1	3			6
7		2					5	1	2					1					
8						1	3	1	1						1				1
9																			
10																			
11								1											
proverbs	**15**	**63**	**14**	**3**	**7**	**22**	**144**	**68**	**74**	**17**	**5**	**4**	**6**	**28**	**58**	**24**	**44**	**30**	**111**

Voiced = 102/13.83% Voiceless = 340/46.13% Sonorants = 295/40.02%

Total occurrences = 737/100%

Table 2.6: Consonant repetition in Serbian proverbs

	Voiced						Voiceless									Sonorants					
Count	b	d	g	z	ž	đ	p	t	k	s	š	ć	č	c	h	j	v	r	l	m	n/nj
3	9	30	8	6	3		10	47	39	33	7	1	4	1	1	28	28	44	14	17	62/1
4	3	8	3	2		2	6	8	16	15	1	1				14	6	12	4	4	21
5		3					1	4	4							1	1	3		3	8
6							2			1								1			2
7										2						1					1
8							1														
proverbs	**12**	**41**	**11**	**8**	**3**	**2**	**20**	**59**	**59**	**51**	**8**	**2**	**4**	**1**	**1**	**44**	**35**	**60**	**18**	**24**	**94/1**

Voiced = 77/13.79% Voiceless = 205/36.73% Sonorants = 276/49.46%

Total occurrences = 558/100%

Comparing Russ and Sb, an overall much higher frequency of consonant repetition in the former emerges as the first difference: 737 and 558 occurrences, respectively. Secondly, Russ also repeats voiceless consonants more often than does Sb. In Russ these make up 46.13% of all repetitions, while in Sb they make up 36.73%. In turn, there is found approximately the same difference (9.5%) in repetition of sonorants, which is more frequent in Sb: in Russ, 40.02%, and in Sb, 49.46%. Curiously, the percentage of repetition of voiced consonants is about 14% in each language. Thus, the 9.5% difference indicates the extent to which consonantal voicing is more prominent in the Sb proverbs than in the Russ ones. However, since this is probably also a feature of the two languages in general, at this point it is difficult to decide conclusively whether this difference corresponds to a discourse feature of either Russ or Sb proverbs.

Rather interesting relationships emerge from a comparison of the frequencies for the three classes in repetition with their overall incidence in corpus.

Table 2.7: Consonantal classes: overall incidence vs. repetition in a proverb

	Voiced Russ/Sb in %	Voiceless Russ/Sb in %	Sonorants Russ/Sb in %
In corpus	19.0/20.7	41.3/35.7	39.7/43.5
In repetition	13.8/13.8	46.1/36.7	40.0/49.5

Three types of relationships between overall incidence of a consonantal class and its frequency in repetition are identified, namely: 1) a class is less frequent in repetition than overall, 2) a class is more frequent in repetition than overall, and 3) there is no important difference between the two aspects of occurrence. Russ and Sb differ in the choice of class in types 2) and 3). In type 1), there is a relative disliking for voiced consonants in repetition both in Russ and Sb: they are six to seven per cent less frequent in repetition than in overall incidence. In type 2) Russ 'favors' repetition of voiceless consonants, while Sb 'prefers' repetition of sonorants, i.e., in comparison with the overall incidence (which is approximately 5% less frequent than the occurrence of the respective class in repetition). And in type 3), sonorants in Russ, and voiceless consonants in Sb, occur with approximately the same frequency both overall and in repetition.

As for individual consonants, there are eight frequently recurring consonants in Russ and Sb, each recurring in at least 30 proverbs, or in at least 6% of all proverbs in the corpus. (This percentage is an arbitrary point above which the occurrence of a feature is considered relatively frequent; following a similar approach in Guershoon, where it is considered that a device, e.g., comparison, found in about 6% of Russian proverbs is "a fairly frequent element" (1941:58). Among these, common to both Russ and Sb, are: /d, t, k, s, v, n/, while /l, m/ are a feature of Russ, and /j, r/ a feature of Sb exclusively. In addition to this latter difference, another major one between Russ and Sb is in the frequency of recurrence of /t/ in a proverb. In Russ, /t/ makes up about one fifth of all instances of a single consonant occurring three or more times in a proverb (144 or 19.53% of all instances of a recurring consonant), nearly twice as many as in Sb (59 or 10.57%). As repetition of /t/ in Russ stems mainly from its being found in present tense desinences, in addition to relative and demonstrative pronouns (*kto, to*, etc.), /t/ in Russ is likely to be often found as an element of rhyme. An example featuring both the pronouns and rhyme with /t/ is Russ 151 /*KtO kovO slOmit, tOt tovO i tOpčet*/. However, it can be seen below that despite numerous cases of multiple /t/ in a proverb, it is rarely encountered in word-initial alliteration, especially in Sb.

2.3.2 Alliteration

Despite the fact that there is probably not much disagreement about what is normally considered alliteration, a survey of several studies of stylistic repetition reveals much diversity in the approach to this figure of style. Since this analysis comes up with a suggestion that there are two forms of what is here termed minimal alliteration, as, perhaps, a unique feature of proverbs, I begin with a brief overview of the treatment of alliteration in a sample of the studies of repetition known to me. (Levin 1964 does not pay any attention to either alliteration or assonance, describing only antigrammatical rhyme and pleophony as phonetic devices.)

It is commonly held in literary studies that the most salient ("expressive") alliteration is the one occurring "in stressed syllables at the beginning of words" (Rečnik 1985:14). While Rečnik allows for alliteration to occur in the non-initial consonant as well, a more conservative approach is suggested in a study on stylistic repetition in the Veda, according to which even instances of initial alliteration, as a rule, "arrest the hearer's attention only if they affect accentuated or otherwise important words or if a larger number of them occur in succession: (...) like *Peter Piper picked a peck of pickled peppers*" (Gonda 1959:177). Gonda thus looks for "indications proving that the author consciously and intentionally resorted to the device" (1959:178), and in the case of absence of such indications he does not find that in some instances even a consecutive triple occurrence of the same consonant represents alliteration.

In yet another approach, treatment of alliteration in Russian proverbs is limited to providing a handful of examples, e.g., */I žArko želAjut, da rUki podžimAjut/*, or */Nad sEm'ju pojasAmi nebEsnymi sAm BOg/* (Guershoon 1941:95; spelling adapted), which indicate that the author is not concerned with the position of either the repeated consonants or the stress.

No constraints of any sort are considered in a study of the language of (Arabic) Cairene proverbs either. There the author simply lists four types of alliteration in the initial consonant, as follows: 1. in all words, 2. in some words, 3. in repetition of an obligatory morpheme, and 4. in repetition of a word — citing proverbs in which two words have identical initial consonants as examples for the third and fourth type — but says nevertheless that the third type "must be considered a morphological and not a stylistic feature,"

while saying that the fourth "cannot be included under the definition of alliteration" (Mahgoub 1968:24).

The type 4. is, however, exactly what Arant (1973) investigates as alliteration in repetition of prepositions in Russian traditional lament.

I do not consider the proverbs with repetition of the types 3. and 4. above, since identity of consonants there is a result of morphological or lexical repetition. Apart from the fact that repetition in such cases takes place at a 'higher' linguistic level (lexical), there is yet another factor blocking a perception of alliteration. There can be no word-initial alliteration in exact word repetition — e.g., in Sb 78 */DIgni mAgaretu klAšnje, mAgaretu lAšnje/* — for sufficiently distinctive word-forms as background are a necessary condition for a repeated initial consonant to be perceived as salient or, consequentially, as alliteration. Polyptoton, e.g., Russ 355 */RukA rUku mOet/* does not appear to merit the 'status' of alliteration either. Occurrence of alliteration is exceptionally recognized in approximate word repetition in which the forms are substantially different from one another, e.g., /k/ and /t/ in Russ 151 */KtO kovO slOmit, tOt tovO i tOpčet/*. Should it be preferred to see occurrence of alliteration in word repetition too, both the extent and patterns in which it occurs can be seen in Chapter III.

As for Gonda's approach, it should be said that his example for alliteration in a large number of successive words (cited above) is misleading, for it is not a typical alliteration but rather a tongue twister, a play on sound(s) (note also repetition of other sounds in the example) whose primary intention is amusement. Nevertheless, the general skepticism of such an approach as his is justified, in principle, as is shown in the analysis that follows.

From a close look at my corpora, proverbs with the same initial consonant in two contiguous words, e.g., Russ 482 */XudOj mIr lUt:še dObroj drAki/*, do seem to be stylistically marked for alliteration when the initial syllable is stressed. The same is the case with such occurrences in which the two words are separated by a clitic but stressed. However, rarely are the initial syllables in the latter variety stressed. This infrequency of stress in the initial syllable thus suggests that the identity of the initial consonants is coincidental. Let it just be mentioned that proverbs with such repetition are found about twice as often in Sb as in Russ: the occurrences of those with identical initial consonants in two contiguous words number 61 in Russ and

113 in Sb, while those in two words separated by a clitic occur 19 times in Russ and 38 times in Sb.

There are, however, two patterns — whose distinctiveness does not seem to have been noticed in the literature available to me — in which word-initial occurrence of the same consonant in merely two words **is** prominent due to one or both of the following two factors: **brevity** of the proverb, and **syntactic parallelism**.

This minimal word-initial alliteration is the subject of the three sections that follow (2.3.2.1.1 — 2.3.2.1.3).

2.3.2.1 Alliteration in word-initial consonants

2.3.2.1.1 Minimal contiguous alliteration

A simple variety of the minimal contiguous alliteration pattern merits attention due to the fact that here repetition of the same consonant in just two contiguous words actually means that consonant repetition takes place: a) in at least half of the (stressed) words in the proverb, or b) in all, i.e., both, (stressed) words in a proposition. It is found to occur in 10 Russ proverbs and 15 Sb proverbs the characteristic of which is a pronounced brevity.

The former type is found in Russ 19 */BOk svojO strOit/*, and also in 90, 255 and 376; in Sb 233 */KUrjak kOžom plAća/*, as well as in 160, 288, 351, 474, 478, 488 and 490. The latter type is seen, for example, in Russ 164 */KudA koz'Ol, tudA i barAn/*, and also in 42, 81, 166, 345 and 446; and in Sb in 53 */VOda rlče, a mlIni mElju/*, as well as in 99, 129, 140, 149, 375, 456.

In most other Russ short proverbs, however, minimal contiguous consonant repetition stems from approximate word repetition or from morphological repetition (e. g., 81, 166, 172; in Sb 151, 395), and thus is not counted as alliteration.

Some stylistic markedness could perhaps also be attributed to minimal initial consonant repetition in structures consisting of two stressed words between which a clitic appears, e.g., in Russ 459 */VrEmeni ne vorOtiš/*, Sb 405 */SvAšta u svijEtu/*. Like the variety without a clitic (above), this one too is found to appear both in type a) and type b) described above. Besides the two cited examples, the former type appears in Russ 32, 118, 142, 185, and Sb 63, 128, 139, 365; the latter type in Russ 24, 48, 122, 189, and Sb 118. If it is accepted

that the appearance of a clitic between the two words does not block perception of repetition of the initial consonants as salient, and if such occurrences are thus considered alliteration, the above-mentioned count for minimal contiguous alliteration would rise to 19 each in Russ and Sb.

And finally, there are occasionally other variations of minimal initial consonant repetition in a three-word proverb. In Russ 170 */LEtos' nYnešnevo lUt:še/* the initial and the final words' identity of the initial consonant is supported with the stress, repetition of the subsequent *t* and with the similarity of the fricatives *s*, *š*, so that the two words resonate with a likeness not unlike that achieved in rhyme. This proverb, with three successive occurrences of syllable-initial *n* in its middle word, and also, for instance, Sb 272, with repetition of the stressed vowel */NAmjera dUg naplAćuje/*, may serve to illustrate an important point with regard to alliteration in initial consonants: it is not an isolated phenomenon, but often rather only an element in a complex repetition of sounds, even in proverbs as short as the two just cited.

The two just cited proverbs are examples of an interesting alliterative framing, whereby the initial and the final word, or stress unit, begin with the same consonant. In short proverbs, this is encountered in approximately 4-5 per cent of all proverbs in each part of the corpora.

2.3.2.1.2 Double minimal contiguous alliteration

A complex variety of the minimal contiguous alliteration, in which the alliterative effect is emphasized, is found in proverbs with **two-fold** repetition of word-initial consonants, more precisely, in two pairs of contiguous words linked by the adversative conjunction *a*. This five-word variety is encountered in Sb 27 */BOgu BOžije a cAru cArevo/*, 164 */JEko jEči a zdrAv zvEči/*, 257 */MjErom mjEri, a cijEnom cijEni* and 404 */SvAčiju slUšaj, a svOju svlđaj/*. Repetition in these proverbs can be seen at all linguistic levels, but what stands out the most is their bipartiteness modelled most prominently on the effects of a representative counterbalance of multi-level phonological, prosodic and grammatical parallelism, on the one side, and semantic contrast, on the other. Syntactic parallelism, in the first place, and contrast as well emphasize the saliency of the alliterative pairs in these proverbs.

Apart from the five-word variety with the conjunction *a*, there are found several other proverbs with two-fold consonant repetition in contiguous word-pairs. In these proverbs as well, the alliterative word-pairs are semantically contrastive and syntactically (and usually also metrically) parallel, and often accompanied by non-initial occurrence(s) of the same consonant.

For instance in Sb 361, in a minimal parallel initial alliteration in the stressed syllable, the word-pair repeating the initial *p* is also part of a multiple alliteration with *p* throughout the proverb, i.e., initial and medial: */POdaj pOpu pOpovsko, a gospOdi gOspodsko, Pa bjEži/*. Similarly, in Sb 393 both repeated consonants occur also in non-initial positions in the same words: */REci bObu: bOb, a pOpu: pOp/*.

In another example, Sb 8, repetition of *h* and *n* is accompanied by repetition of a subsequent *ć* in all four words: */Ako nEće nEćo, a Ono hOće hOćo/*. Similar is also Sb 34. Of further interest might be proverbs in which a clitic separates one of the two alliterative word-pairs, e.g., in Sb 254 */MIlici u mRvici nEma nIšta/*, or when the clitic is also part of alliteration in a word-pair, as in Sb 199. And finally a rare successive triple occurrence of minimal repetition of the initial consonant, this time not associated with parallelism or contrast, may be seen in Sb 312 */NIje nIkakva majstOrija mEđu dObrima dObar bIti/*.

Interestingly, this two-fold identity of initial consonants is not found in Russ. It is only encountered in two instances of approximate word repetition: in a double polyptoton in 173 and in 151 (in which the formal distinctiveness among the two words in each pair is greater than in 173): */KtO kovO slOmit, tOt tovO i tOpčet/*.

In addition to the already discussed main features, also noticeable in the cited proverbs with two-fold minimal contiguous alliteration is repetition of the stress in the initial syllable.

In a final note, it needs to be recognized that the complex variety of minimal contiguous alliteration that has just been described in some Sb examples above is occasionally a result of approximate word repetition, or of repetition of the same root. (This is the only exception from the general rule adopted in the analysis that repetition of units of meaning which do not differ substantially in form do not qualify as examples of alliteration.) However, this variety of alliteration is also found apart from stem repetition,

which strengthens the conclusion that an alliteration pattern may be distinguished in such short proverbs. The main support for such a conclusion should be seen, however, in the fact that in most such proverbs these alliterative pairs are an element in a complex parallelism between the two propositions, as was shown above.

2.3.2.1.3 Minimal parallel alliteration

Minimal parallel alliteration refers to an occurrence of the same initial consonant in syntactically parallel words, which is considered the second pattern of minimal initial alliteration.

The stylistic markedness of this minimal alliteration is noticed, for instance, in Guershoon (1941:95) with respect to one of the examples of alliteration (of /m/), even though the author does not comment on the characteristics or stylistical merits of the example he cites: */V mIre — što v mOre/*. (An analogous example can be seen, for instance, in the parallelism of the initial /p/ in the English proverb *In for a penny — in for a pound.*)

Minimal parallel alliteration is encountered much more often than minimal contiguous alliteration, in both Russ and Sb. While there are found more occurrences of this pattern in Russ (48) than in Sb (38), those in which the initial syllable in both alliterative words is stressed are more numerous in Sb: 30 (or 79% of all occurrences of minimal parallel alliteration), compared with 25 (or 52% of all occurrences) in Russ. Approximately a third of such proverbs are rather short, with six or fewer words, and this brevity certainly emphasizes the saliency of the two identical initial consonants in the parallel words. The saliency of this minimal alliteration becomes further enhanced in four-word proverbs, and especially if it is also accompanied by repetition of a word, e.g., Russ 153 */KtO pervEe, tOt pravEe/*, 168 */KobYlke brOt, kUrice potOp/*, 240 */Ne žilOj — ne živOj/*, and 342 */ProsAvvilsa jesI, provarvArilsa jesI/*; Sb 322 */Ni svAgđe, ni svAšto/*, 374 */PRva lAst pOtonja mUka/*. Alliterative parallelism does not seem to be less apparent in such proverbs that, in addition to four stressed words, also have a clitic (Russ 64 */GdE stAl, tAm i stAn/*, 65, 158, 192, 229, 327, 390, 416, 441; or when the two words are merely symmetrical, as in Sb 357 */PjAna čOeka i BOg čUva/*, as well as in 469).

It can be noticed in the examples cited above, and it holds for most other proverbs of this variety, that parallelism in these short proverbs is as a

rule multi-level. It is often a parallelism of several of the following: the initial consonant, rhyme, syllabic length, word class, grammatical form, or syntactic function of a clause constituent. As far as perception of the identity of the initial consonant is concerned, such parallelism compensates for the lack of stress in the initial syllable(s). In addition, most examples also feature lexical repetition and contrast. Therefore, the saliency of the consonant repetition in this pattern is not only achieved through its association with the multi-level parallelism, but also through its association with the two mutually opposing features of the lexical structure: contrast, on the one hand, and lexical repetition, on the other.

The mechanism of foregrounding and backgrounding at work in these proverbs may be described as follows. In the first instance, the sameness generated by lexical repetition provides the necessary background against which all the foregrounded features are perceived as such. In the same way, the sameness of sound in the proverb achieved by the means of rhyme and word repetition — in addition to the syntactic parallelism of the two words — functions as a background allowing for perception of the minimal alliteration in parallel words.

Somewhat disguised is the parallelism of /t/ in 14 Russ proverbs with the *kto — tot* and six proverbs with the *što — to* patterns, which work as a frame for syntactic parallelism. Examples are Russ 98 */ŠtO grešnO, tO i smešnO/* and 100 */ŠtO ni naživ'Oš, tO i proživ'Oš/*. The two proverbs show an interweaving repetition of *t* with that of *š*, the latter also appearing as an element of the rhyme.

A complex minimal alliteration with two-fold parallelism, is found in four Russ and two Sb proverbs. The parallel alliteration here may be either intrapropositional, i.e., the parallel words occur one in each proposition: Russ 204 */Na dUme, štO pod dYmom; na skAskax, štO na salAskax/*, and also 324; or interpropositional, i.e., occurring across the proposition-boundary: Russ 258 */Ne tO stOja prostojAt', ne tO sId'a prosidEt', ne tO l'Oža proležAt'/*, and also 475; Sb 296 — an example of homoioteleuton — */NEmogoše pOjedoše, a nEkćeše svE pOpiše/* and 154 */(...)dOckan sAzri, dUgo stOji/*.

Of further interest may be repetition of the initial consonant in syntactically parallel words in proverbs which also contain a minimal contiguous alliteration, e.g., (*pOlako — prIje*) in Sb 214 */KO pOlako Ide, prIje dOma dOđe/*.

2.3.2.1.4 Multiple alliteration in word-initial consonants

The discussion of minimal alliteration that has been presented in the preceding three sections was mainly concerned with the contextual saliency of one or two repeated consonants, and the relationship of such consonant repetition to several other devices of repetition.

This section considers multiple repetition of one or more word-initial consonants in a proverb, and takes into account three further aspects of consonant repetition: firstly, to what extent alliteration creates, or contributes to, a likeness of the sound in a proverb, secondly, which individual consonants and what major consonantal class(es) are found in alliteration and how often, and thirdly, how the data on such alliteration relate to the general frequency of the given consonant/class in the corpus.

In general, multiple repetition of word-initial consonants can be characterized as follows. There are found 11 Russ consonants (/b, d, g, p, t, k, s, x, v, m, n/) and 10 Sb consonants (/b, d, g, z, p, t, k, s, v, m, n/) in multiple word-initial repetition. The distribution of repetitions among particular consonants can be seen in the table below. Since the effect of alliteration is undoubtedly based on **all** occurrences of a consonant in a given proverb, not only the initial ones, the number in the first column reflects the total number of occurrences of the consonant in repetition in a single proverb. However, the counts only reflect proverbs in which most occurrences (or all, if only 3 occurrences) of a given consonant are word-initial.

Table 2.8: Repetition of the same word-initial consonant

Cl	Russian												Serbian										
ou	b	d	g	p	t	k	s	x	v	m	n		b	d	g	z	p	t	k	s	v	m	n
nt																							
3	4	5	2	6	2	2	1	1	3	1	4		1		1		2	1	2	9	3	2	7
4	1	2	2	5		1	5		3		5		2	3	1		3		2	3	2		9
5	2	1		3			1	1			2					1	1		1			1	3
6		1									2						2			1			2
7					2		1													1			
8							1										1						
	7	9	4	14	4	3	9	2	6	1	13		3	3	2	1	9	1	5	14	5	3	21

In comparison, for example, with the 12.3% of Arabic proverbs having alliteration (where the data include also the proverbs with merely two occurrences of the same initial consonant, taken as alliteration regardless of how they relate to word/root repetition) found by Mahgoub (1968:24), the overall frequency data shown in the table above appear to be important: the same initial consonant is found to occur 3 or more times in a proverb in 73 Russ proverbs and in 67 Sb proverbs, i.e., in about 13% of the proverbs, but with a much more restricted definition of alliteration (see 2.3.2 above). It is not possible, however, to say that all such repetitions constitute alliteration, especially when such consonant repetition is non-successive in a relatively long proverb. Another reason for this restraint is the fact that in a number of proverbs such repetition, at least partially but often substantially, stems from approximate word or stem repetition. Mostly due to word or stem repetition (when more than half of the occurrences of the same initial consonant so appear) are about a third of all instances of word-initial consonant repetition both in Russ and Sb. On the other hand, the importance of this fact is somewhat diminished when it is observed that word or stem repetition is usually found in proverbs with just three occurrences of the same initial consonant.

It should be also noted that there occur variations which are not fully investigated here that may be counted as multiple word-initial alliteration. One is, for example, the occurrence of the same consonant after the prefix

boundary, e.g., in Russ 487 /*Za* neblagodArnyv *bOg blagodarIt*/ (especially if the prefixed word also occurs without prefix in the same proverb, as in this example). Another is seen in the occurrence of the same consonant in a cluster, e.g., Russ 479 /*XudAja kl'Ača zr'A kudA skAčet*/.

2.3.2.1.4.1 Most frequent consonants in word-initial alliteration

Among the instances of multiple consonant repetition that can account for alliteration, most frequently found are the same three consonants — /n, p, s/ — in both Russ and Sb. In Russ there are 9 alliterations each of /p/ and /n/ and 8 alliterations of /s/; while alliterations of the three consonants in Sb rank as follows: /n/ (17), /s/ (10) and /p/ (5), amounting together to half of all word-initial alliterations in Sb. (A summary of the frequencies of particular word-initial consonants was shown in Table 2.8 above.)

Comparing the frequency of the consonants most prominent in word-initial alliteration with their discourse frequency, the following relationships can be established.

On the one hand, the frequency of /n/ and /s/ in word-initial alliteration in Sb is in direct proportion to the frequency in the discourse (ranks 1 and 2) and to a lesser degree the same is true for Russ (ranks 2 and 4).

On the other hand, the high frequency of /p/ in alliteration is in disagreement with the relative low prominence of the consonant in both Russ and Sb proverbial discourse (tenth and eleventh rank, respectively). And in another major disproportion, in a reverse direction, /t/ — which in Russ makes up almost 12% of all consonants in the corpus (in Sb /t/ makes up 7.5% of all consonants as the fifth ranked one) — surprisingly at first glance, occurs in word-initial alliteration quite rarely: 4 times in Russ and only once in Sb. Despite being the most often repeated consonant in individual proverbs in Russ, /t/ is repeated non-initially, characteristically occurring in the final position, often in present tense endings and as a devoiced variant of /d/. (Non-initial alliteration with /t/ will be illustrated later.)

Perhaps similarly curious, in both parts of the corpus, is the complete lack of word-initial alliteration with /r/, the third and the sixth most frequent consonant in Russ and Sb, respectively. But a close look at the Russ proverbs repeating /r/ offers an explanation for both languages: like /t/, it is often

repeated in non-initial position, most often as the second constituent of a consonant cluster (see 2.3.1.1.3 above) or in prefixes (most often in *pro-* and *pere-*).

Similarly, the prominence of the three most often alliterating consonants is explained by the following findings at the morphological and lexical level.

The most noticeable feature of Russ alliteration of the three most prominent consonants are prefixes in verbal derivations, especially *po-* and *s-*, the prefix/preposition *na* and negative particle *ne*, e.g., 331 */PopostIs, pomolIs, dA i f pUt' soberIs/*, 402 */SuprotIf svAxi ne sxvastAt'; A i sxvastAt', tAk ne sxr'astAt'/* and 212 */Na jAmu dr'Azgu ne naxlamIšsa, na smErd' detEj ne narožAešsa/*.

In Sb too, a great deal of alliteration with /n/ involves the use of negative words, the key words among which, *nije, nema* and *ništa,* are different from the Russ ones. (Prominence of negation in the discourse, and repetition of negative words in individual proverbs is discussed in Chapter III.) Some examples of alliteration with /n/ substantially emerging from negation, as well as from prefix *na-*, are the following: 169 */Kad je rAt, nIko nIkom nIje brAt/*, 7 */Ako nE načuva, nE nateče/*, 327 */NIšta nIje nOvo na svijEtu/* and 19 */KO Ide Is kuće bez nIšta, ili nEma nIšta ili nE zna nIšta/*. Interestingly, also alliteration of /s/ in Sb can be related to certain items prominent at the lexical level. Key words in alliteration with *s* are the pronouns *svaki* and *svoj,* e.g., in the following two decasyllabic proverbs with a characteristic repetition of the initial *sv-*: 404 */SvAčiju slUšaj, a svOju svIđaj/* and 441 */TEško svUda svOme bes svOjega/*. Less interesting are alliterations of /p/, for they often involve repetition of the preposition *po*. Alliteration with /p/ is mostly found in the stressed initial syllable of other words only in five proverbs. Among these words, the noun *pop* occurs in alliteration in three instances (368, 361 and 369).

2.3.2.1.4.2 Successive multiple word-initial alliteration

The examples cited above to illustrate the consonants most frequently found in alliteration were all of a variety of alliteration in which the words with an identical initial consonant appear, in the main, successively. Such alliteration is marked by saliency which is not (only) based on repetition of

stress in the initial syllable (although it does take place in most stress units in the Sb proverbs cited), but is based primarily on the successive cumulation of the same consonant in the initial syllable. In addition to the alliteration of the most prominent consonants cited above, other proverbs with **successive** alliteration are, in Russ: 167 */KUpiš — plAtiš, prodajOš — plAčeš/*, as well as 27 and 128; in Sb: 123 */ZbOg sirOta sUnce sjAje/*, 317 */NIje čOeku žAo nA malo, nego na nEpravo/*, 385 */PUsti pijEtla nA prag, pOpeće se i na pOlicu/*, as well as 40, 50, 167, 211, 220, 221 and 436.

Most proverbs with word-initial alliteration belong, however, to another variety, in which the alliterative words do not come in neat succession.

What allows us to see alliteration in a multiple repetition of a word-initial consonant in this other variety is association of such repetition either with certain salient structural feature(s) of the proverb or with stress as a source of acoustical saliency of the syllable.

2.3.2.1.4.3 Non-successive multiple word-initial alliteration

Russ and Sb differ sharply in this variety of alliteration, not so much in the overall extent to which alliterative syllables in all proverbs with non-successive alliteration attain certain phonological saliency, but in the sources of saliency of such alliteration. In Russ, saliency — in the sense of probable perception of alliteration in a word-initial consonant — depends primarily on structural context, and namely: a) parallelism of the words in which it appears (in Russ in 23 proverbs, in Sb 13 proverbs), or b) brevity of the proverb (in 27 Russ proverbs and 14 Sb proverbs). It is seldom maximal saliency, for only in 11 out of the 73 cases of multiple word-initial repetition are most of the syllables involved stressed. Both parallelism **and** brevity accompany alliteration in 8 Russ proverbs.

In Sb, however, saliency of alliteration in word-initial consonants is predominantly ensured by prosody: it is acoustically supported by the stress in the initial syllable in 43 (out of 67) proverbs. Along with stress in the initial syllable, parallelism is a characteristic of alliteration in 12 Sb proverbs, brevity in 14 proverbs, and all three features at once are found in four proverbs.

2.3.2.1.5 Alliteration in relation to stress, parallelism, and structural brevity

Let us now further describe and illustrate the frequently encountered principal associations of the sources of saliency of alliteration. The first source of saliency of word-initial alliteration may be seen in an association of brevity of the proverb and stress. Proverbs with fewer than six words and stress in all or most of the initial syllables repeating a consonant are taken as examples of this variety. In Russ, such alliterations are not frequent: /b/ (and /s/) in 3 */BAbe spUstiš — sAm bAba bUdeš/*, other cases: 33, 49, 63, 167 and 455; while in Sb they are more than twice as numerous, e.g., 235 */KUtnji lUpež kUću kOpa/*, others: 7, 40, 123, 210, 211, 327, 375, 400, 404, 441 and 500.

Syntactic parallelism of two or more of the words involved in alliteration is another, principally Russ, source of saliency of word-initial alliteration, more frequent than the last-named type both in Russ and Sb. Some examples in Russ are: /d/ in 49 */DOrogo dA mIlo, d'Oševo dA gnIlo/*, /t, m/ in 63 */GdE mnOgo tOlkof, tAm mAlo tOlku/*, or *s(k/t)* in the initial clusters in 254 */Ne stOl'ko smertEj, skOl'ko skorbEj/*.

It has already been shown above (2.3.2.1.3) how parallelism of words is the crucial feature stylistically marking a minimal repetition of a consonant and allowing us to perceive it as alliteration. In multiple word-initial alliteration too, in Russ parallelism turns out to be the feature with which alliteration is most often associated. Alliteration accompanies syntactic parallelism (or vice versa) in 23 proverbs, in Sb in 13 proverbs. There are proverbs with alliteration in the word-initial consonant indicating that an exact syntactic parallelism is not always a requirement: the two words with the same initial consonant seem to create the same effect either by being syntactically parallel or simply proposition-final words, or both, particularly when they are also marked by rhyme, as in the case of near rhyme in Russ 406: */SYtyj kOn' vOdu vOzit, tOščevo na potprUgax polt' vOd'at/*. Some other Russ examples showing that, in addition to parallelism, also rhyme — and semantic contrast — are often involved include (citing only the parallel word-pairs): Russ 116 */deševA — dorogA/*, 321 */prikAznyj — prolAznyj/*, 335 */porugAca — podrAca/*, 368 */smYsli — slUšaj/*, 385 */skOro — spOro/*. In a two-fold manifestation, it is found in Sb 1 and 140 */Izio pAs talAmbas: Rđava čAs, a gOlem glAs/*, and also in: 335 */vOde — nOse/*, 500 */glEdati — glOdati/*.

Alliteration is also sometimes associated with other devices of repetition — in which case a complex parallelism emerges as a result — e.g., from association of alliteration with rhyming *-olo-* pleophony and repetition of stressed *o* in all four nouns in Russ 455, in which all four consonants, /v, l, s, g/, alliterate: */VOlos v vOlos, gOlos v gOlos/*. A complex parallelism may also be seen in Russ 458 in the association of alliteration with /v, r, n/ with rhyme, syllabic length of words, and /EO — EO/ parallelism of stressed vowels: */VrEmenem v gOrku, a vrEmenem v nOrku/*.

A different kind of foregrounding of alliteration may come from the acoustical nature of some consonants with multiple distinctive features. Phonological unusualness, therefore saliency, may be attributed to alliterations with consonants which are the least frequent in the language, such as affricates or the voiceless velar fricative or the voiced palatal fricative.

Turning, for a moment, the focus away from word-initial alliteration, we find likely salient alliteration, for instance, in repetition of most of the consonants with a discourse frequency of under two per cent (see Table 2.8 above). More precisely, among these consonants such unusual alliteration is encountered in Russ with /č, c, ž, x/ but not with /f, šč, ʏ /; and in Sb with /č, ž, đ, c, ć, h, nj/ but not with /dž, f, lj/.

Alliterations with the two Russ affricates, /c/ and /č/, are not numerous, but are quite interesting. Alliteration with /c/ occurs, for example, in a four-word aabb rhyming homoioteleuton based on reflexive present tense desinences in 121 */Živ'Oca — pojOca; umirAeca — dr'agAeca/*, and also in 29, 311, 414. An alliteration with /č/ in Russ 181 */LUt:še f pučInu, čEm f kručInu/* also occurs in all four stressed words (other occurrences in Russ: 94, 95, 181, 217, 296). Acoustical saliency and phonological unusualness of the repetition of /č/ in this proverb, as in other similar cases, certainly overshadow such slight pronunciation differences as the one between /č /in */lut:še/* and /č/ in the other three words. Quite an unusual example of alliteration with /ž/ in a mocking imitation of Church Slavonic in Russ is 113 */Iže, ne vrI že; jegO že, ne prigOže/*, whose rhythmic play on sound aims more at amusement than at conveying a persuasive message.[19] Other proverbs with alliteration of /ž/ in Russ are 99, 122, 124, 197, 340 and 354, and with /x/: 37, 117, 275, 402, 412 and 477.

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[19]Communicative functions of the proverb are dealt with in detail in Chapter I.

Repetition of the most infrequent consonants (/č, ž, đ, c, ć, h, nj/) in Sb occurs in 15 proverbs. Out of these, citing just a few, the following are instances of unusual alliterations: with /č/ in the already cited 134 (in a three-verse symmetrical decasyllable with a triple rhyme in */pogača — bjelača — Morača/*), 200 and 425; with /ž/ in 85, and 229 */KRpež i tRpež po svljeta dRže/*; with /đ/ in 1, 363, /ć/ (8, 410 */SvUda je prOći, al' je kUći dOći/*), and once each with /c/ (280), /h/ (478 */HrAna hrAbra, a rUho gospodAra/*) and /nj/ (274).

Presumably most acoustically salient alliterative consonants are found in word endings, and also coincide with rhyme, so that most often rhyme and alliteration come together in a mutually supported saliency.

The last two cited examples illustrate an interesting aspect of the distribution of alliteration: it is found in the first or the last two, or both first and last, stressed words. As in the last cited example above, the two alliterating words may actually coincide with either the initial or the final proposition. In such proverbs, but also in proverbs without such a clear segmentation into two propositions, especially in those with five or more stressed words, word-initial alliteration in the two words represents a kind of opening or closing point created by means of phonological repetition. Some other examples are, e.g., in Russ, 42 */DObraja ženA — vesEl'je, a xudAja — zlOe zEl'je/*, or 446 */F srEdu s`jedIm, tAk f četvErk ne gl'adIm/*; in Sb 99 */ĐEvojačkog sEla nIgđe nEma/*, or 214 */KO pOlako Ide, prIje dOma dOđe/*. With or without a clitic interpolation, the opening variety occurs in 25 Russ proverbs and in 33 Sb ones; while the closing variety is found in 29 or 32 proverbs in Russ and Sb, respectively.

And finally — returning to the typical sources of saliency of word-initial alliteration — a pronounced foregrounding of alliteration occurs when two or three main sources of saliency combine in the same proverb. For instance, Russ 454 is marked by both syntactic parallelism of two of the alliterative words and brevity: */VOlka bo'jAca — i od bElki bežAt'/*. A third of Russ proverbs with multiple alliteration marked by parallelism are also characterized by brevity: in addition to 49, 63, 254, 455 and 458 cited above, six or fewer words are a feature of Russ 116, 252 and 321.

2.3.2.2 Multiple repetition of several consonants in a proverb

It has occasionally been noticed in the discussion of word-initial alliteration that alliteration of two consonants belonging to different patterns of repetition may be found to combine in the same proverb.

Non-initially as well, alliteration of two consonants takes place in a number of proverbs, to note just some of them, in Russ: /d, p/ in 39, /d, b/ in 494, or /b, d/ in 465; in Sb: /n, m/ in 48, /d, č/ in 88, /d, b/ in 92, /p, s/ in 149, or /b, p/ in 393.

Additionally, consonant clusters are found in alliteration. To cite just the most frequent cluster *st*, it is found in alliteration in Russ 64, 397, 398, 431 and 447, and in Sb 101, 237, 273, 286, 347, 405 and 406.

Variations, however, do not end there. A more detailed study of alliteration might pay further attention also to consonants occurring at the preposition-boundary, as for instance in the triple successive word-initial repetition of /d/ followed by geminate /dd/ at the preposition-boundary in Russ 33 */DAry dAr'at, dA oddArki gl'ad'At/*. Repetition of other consonant clusters (such as the word-initial recurrence of *gr* in repetition of two words in Russ 269) could be analyzed in detail as well.

Repetition of more than one consonant in a proverb regardless of whether it is perceived as alliteration or not, occurs, however, much more often than could be suggested in passing and a brief discussion is thus devoted in this section to such repetitions with the most numerous occurrences of several consonants.

The following analysis concentrates primarily on the most salient instances of the at least triple occurrence of each in a series of consonants in a single proverb, with a focus on proverbs with repetition of five or more consonants. Attention is paid to whether the simultaneous repetition of a series of consonants has any special function in the modeling of a stylistically marked expression, and/or any significant relationship with the most prominent devices of repetition.

2.3.2.2.1 Frequency of multiple repetition of two or more consonants

Before turning to the prominent instances in individual proverbs, some general statistics are presented in order to give a general quantitative description of multiple repetition of two or more consonants in a proverb. The following table gives an overview of the frequency of multiple repetition (3 or more occurrences) of more than a single consonant in a proverb.

Table 2.9: Proverbs with multiple occurrences of more than a single consonant

Number of consonants	2	3	4	5	6	7	total
Proverbs in Russ	118	49	21	14	11	1	**214**
Proverbs in Sb	90	38	14	6	2		**150**

The frequency with which repetition of two or more consonants appears in a single proverb is especially high in Russ (42.8% of all proverbs) but also quite high in Sb (30% of all proverbs). While the difference between Russ and Sb is not so great for repetition of 2 or 3 consonants, it becomes rather sharp for repetition of 4 or more consonants. Searching for an answer for this disproportion, it should be recalled, firstly, that Russ has a much larger number of consonants overall, and secondly that a commonness of certain consonantal clusters in Russ has been revealed in the analysis of alliteration above.

2.3.2.2.2 Stylistic functions and relationship with other devices of repetition

An inspection of proverbs with repetition of five or more consonants shows that multiple repetition of several consonants in a single proverb in the most salient instances exhibits two, often co-occurring, principal effects on the structure.

Firstly, it creates a multiple alliteration which often results in a certain phonetic-phonological quality of the proverb that may be essentially characterized as a likeness, or a euphonic quality, of the sound. When transparent, the repetitions with such an effect are examples of paronomasia.

Secondly, it contributes to a rhythmic motion felt from a succession of isophonic, isosyllabic and isomorphic words and/or pronunciation

(accent/stress) units. Such an effect is most transparently felt in several Sb proverbs of considerable length and rhythmic-syntactic segmentation, typically in decasyllabic ones.

In the first example, the secondary modeling of the structure stems from an association of repetition of sounds and a succession of metrically parallel stress units and clauses with a masculine end-rhyme of the aabb type in Sb 1, in which six consonants — /d, đ, p, r, v and z/ — occur three or more times, effecting in a paronomasia: */Ako dOđe prAv, ne izIđe zdrAv; ako dOđe krIv, ne izIđe žIv/*. This proverb has the structure of a double symmetrical decasyllable, and belongs to those proverbs in the corpus that may illustrate all typical devices of repetition.

A similar example with a symmetrical dodecasyllabic distich structure and a feminine aaaa end-rhyme is Sb 91 */Do svEtoga LUke — KUć ti drAgo rUke, a ot svEtog LUke — TUr' U njedra rUke/*, in which there is found multiple repetition of five consonants: /d, t, g, k, r/. The other two most prominent decasyllabic examples in Sb exhibiting the same association of syllabic meter, rhyme, word repetition and multiple repetition of five consonants — employed together in a modeling of a rhythmic structure — are the following, which have a three-verse structure: 101 */ĐEvojka se svAtovima nAda, udOvica nAda i nE nada, StAra bAba zAista nE nada/* and 134 */ZRno po zRno, Eto pOgača; dlAka po dlAka, Eto bjElača; kAplja po kAplja, Eto MOrača/*. In addition to the cited examples, multiple repetition of six consonants in Sb is also found in 304, and of five consonants is found also in 218, 306 and 379.

In Russ, among the 26 proverbs with repetition of 5 or more consonants in a proverb, repetition of the record seven consonants is found in 128, repetition of six consonants in: 129, 143, 161, 212, 269, 300, 324, 332, 399, 433, 457; and repetition of five consonants in: 134, 198, 199, 204, 257, 258, 295, 296, 306, 316, 357, 368, 412, 442.

As in Sb, these proverbs are predictably quite long. They are also characteristically segmented (and by the same token rhythmic) and modelled on parallelism, but, unlike in the analogous Sb proverbs, no particular syllabic meter structure is employed in these Russ proverbs. Rather, rhyme emerges as the most prominent device, and it is multiple rhyme that yields a significant share of the consonantal repetition. Illustrative are, for instance, the three intra-propositional rhyming pairs of parallel end-words in Russ 324

/Podl f korobEjku, podAj kopEjku; podl f sundučOk, podAj p'atačOk; podl v ognIvenku, podAj grIvenku/ or in 332 */kunIcu — lisIcu, ponomar'U — gor'unU, xlopUše —Uši/*.

Rhyme itself is very closely associated with grammatical repetition. In the just cited Russ 324, all three rhyming word-pairs stem from repetition of the accusative case. Russ 128 is another typical example of a link between consonantal repetition and grammatical rhyme, based on homoioteleuton which stems from repetition of present tense desinences: 128 */Kak mIr zaxOčet, rassUdit, por'Adit, postAvit, povOlit, prigovorIt, polOžit; mirskAja vOl'a/*. Another illustrative example, this time with a cumulative rhyming based on repetition of the definite adjective desinence, is 357 */RUs' sv'atAja, pravoslAvnaja, bogatYrskaja, mAt' sv'atorUsskaja zeml'A/*.

Another device on which consonantal repetition most significantly depends is word/stem repetition, e.g., in Russ 412 */TO ne vOr, štO xorošO krad'Ot, a tO vOr, štO xorošO koncY xoronIt/*. This proverb is a good example of paronomasia emerging from a co-dependence of sound repetition and word repetition. There are eight other such Russ proverbs (198, 204, 257, 269, 295, 399, 442, 457).

In another group of proverbs, the paronomastic resonance created by the multiple repetition of several consonants, and vowels, **does not** rely on rhyme and/or word repetition, but is instead based on assonance and/or alliteration, both of which may be found in merely the repetition of identical sounds, or in repetition of syllables. This may be seen, for instance — in a paronomastic structure marked by a salient syntactic parallelism of propositions — in the use of the words */sobAka, kOška, bAba, izbA, dA, fsegdA/* in Russ 199: */Mužlg dA sobAka fsegdA na dvorE, a bAba dA kOška zafsegdA v izbE/*. A similar phenomenon may also be seen in Russ 143, 161, 316, 368.

In an overall comparison, Russ proverbs with repetition of several consonants tend to be longer than the analogous ones in Sb and to lack the strict metrical scheme that the decasyllabic proverbs in Sb have, so that the role of the consonantal repetitions in generating a likeness of the sound in an individual proverb is perhaps in such Russ proverbs felt to a lesser degree than in the Sb ones.

2.4 Pleophony and /ije/ from jat'

Pleophony in Russ and the disyllabic reflex /ije/ from jat' in Sb are two phonological phenomena worth notice in parallel at this point, as they similarly constitute repetition of a disyllabic sequence in two or more words in a proverb.

It needs to be noted that the whole disyllabic sequence /ije/ is not in fact etymologically always entirely from jat', as in some instances one of the words is *nije*, where jat' resulted in /i/. Hence, either both syllables or the initial syllable (in *nije*) are a reflex from the jat'. This etymological difference, however, is irrelevant here, since what interests us most is the effect of repetition of the sequence on homophony.

2.4.1 Repetition of pleophony in Russ

Pleophony is a feature in the Russian language in general, while it is not in the Serbian. I do not describe its occurrence in individual proverbs, since it has been described, in relation to other devices of repetition, in 31 proverbs in Levin 1964, where it is said: "Another phonetic phenomenon, which occurs in a statistically significant number of proverbs as a combinative device, is polnoglasie or pleophony." (1964:11). Levin actually does not give the statistics (nor does he calculate the statistical significance), but it can be seen (as he analyzes all the examples) that there are 18 proverbs in which pleophony occurs in end-words, and 13 proverbs in which it is found in various other positions. As his selective corpus comprises 1375 proverbs, it follows that pleophony occurs in 2.25% of them.

Perhaps surprisingly, in the randomly selected Russ corpus analyzed for this thesis, repetition of pleophony is encountered slightly more often (16 proverbs or 3.2%) than in Levin's corpus; surprisingly, because his selection of proverbs consisted exclusively of proverbs **with** repetition.

In half of these 16 proverbs, the words with repetition of pleophony are end-words, that is syntactically parallel, or, occasionally, merely symmetrical.

Let us also briefly point out a few aspects of repetition of pleophony which remained beyond Levin's attention.

Except in one instance, the stress is in the same syllable, normally the first, of the two syllables of pleophony, as, e.g., in 67 */GdE xOlodno, tUt i*

gOlodno/. The parallel distribution of stress and the fact that there is found a complete identity of the sounds following pleophony indicate that the parallel pleophony in this group of proverbs is a device of strengthening rhyme and, in this manner, an effective device of achieving a high degree of parallel homophony. It is further interesting to note that in 7 proverbs it is the *-olo-* pleophony that is repeated; that in 414, 455 and 475 it occurs 3 or 4 times; and that words with certain roots (*molod-, zolot-, dorog-* and *xoroš-*) are found in repetition of pleophony several times.

2.4.2 Repetition of -/ije/- from jat' in Sb

Repetition of the disyllabic reflex of the long jat' in Sb is a feature of proverbs from the Montenegrin-Herzegovinian and Bosnian dialects. It occurs, similarly to pleophony in the Russ corpus, both in end-words and elsewhere, and is occasionally found in 3 or 4 words in a proverb. Its frequency too is similar to that of pleophony in the Russ corpus: 15 proverbs or 3% of all proverbs in the Sb corpus, not counting the occurrences in word repetition. Unlike Russ pleophony, however, it also occurs terminally, in which case repetition of jat' in itself constitutes rhyme.

Examples of repetition of [*-ije-*] are as follows: in end-words, 209 /*KOme* ***nIje vijEka***, ***nIje*** *mu ni* ***lijEka***/, 225 /*KO* ***Umije***, *tOmu* ***dvIje***/; in contiguous words, 6 /*Ako je svE BOg Ubio,* ***nIje*** *tRpež i* ***lijEpu rIječ***/; in the medial position, 174 /*Kad se* ***lIjen*** *nAkani, sAv* ***svIjet*** *pOpali*/; or in a decasyllable 234 /*KUs* ***pijEvac*** *plle dO* ***vijeka***/. These examples illustrate that the saliency of repeated [*-ije-*] is not of the same kind, as it may be stressed on either /i/ or /e/, have a long post-accentual /e/ as in *rIječ, Umije* and *dO vijeka,* or/and be unstressed, as in the last two instances.

It can be seen in the just cited examples that various other devices are also repeated (for instance, tense, person and number in all of these examples, case in 209 and 6, the same two long post-accentual vowels in the end-words in 174, word in 209, syllabic meter in 209, 225). Such repetition of multiple devices takes place in most other examples with repetition of [*-ije-*], to cite just two of them: the word-final *-ka* in the three subsequent accent units in 314 /*NIje svAka mUka dO vijeka*/, or the successive word-initial alliteration of /n/ in 327 /*NIšta nIje nOvo na svijEtu*/.

2.5 Consonant-vowel structure

2.5.1 Consonant-vowel patterns

In this sub-section I look into corpus frequencies of consonant-vowel (henceforth, C-V) word-patterns, in particular in relation to word syllabic length and C-V distribution.

There is found a great difference between Russ and Sb in the inventory of C-V patterns: there are 181 distinct C-V word patterns in the Russ corpus, and 104 in the Sb one. It is expected that this large difference in the number of C-V patterns will be reflected in higher frequency of particular C-V patterns occurring in repetition in Sb proverbs. This hypothesis will be tested below.

Other regularities in the frequency of C-V word patterns can be noticed in Table 2.10 with the 20 most often occurring patterns.

Perhaps the most interesting information in the table is that, on the one hand, the most frequent pattern in Sb is the disyllabic CVCV (679) rather than the monosyllabic CV (599), and that, on the other hand, frequency of C-V patterns in the corpus does not correlate so much with the number of the syllables as it does with C-V distribution. The first-mentioned finding is discussed in the analysis of syllable length in 2.6 below.

As for the latter, it manifests itself in that the longer successive CV sequences are more frequent than shorter sequences containing consonant clusters, and/or those beginning in a vowel. For instance in Russ, the patterns CVCVC (188 words) and CVCVCV (140) are more frequent than the shorter (monosyllabic) ones with a consonant cluster CCV (122), CCVC (76), and much more frequent than the vowel-initial disyllabic VCVC (30), VCV (16) and VCCV (11). In Sb, the trisyllabic CVCVCV (204) ranks even higher than the equivalent one in Russ and higher then four (out of six) monosyllables, and five (out of seven) disyllables among the top 20 Sb patterns.

Table 2.10: The top 20 consonant-vowel patterns

Russian	words	Serbian	words
CV	(434)	CVCV	(679)
CVCV	(296)	CV	(599)
CVC	(257)	V	(235)
V	(191)	CCVCV	(224)
CVCVC	(188)	CVCVCV	(204)
CVCCV	(140)	CVC	(172)
CVCVCV	(140)	CVCCV	(172)
C	(127)	CVCVC	(113)
CCV	(122)	VCV	(92)
CVCVCVC (the top 10 = 1998)	(103)	CCV (the top 10 = 2567)	(77)
CCVCV	(98)	CCVCVCV	(75)
CCVCVC	(90)	VCVCV	(59)
CVCCVC	(78)	CVCCVCV	(58)
CCVC	(76)	VC	(54)
CVCVCCV	(54)	CVCVCVCV	(40)
CCVCCV	(44)	CCVC	(39)
CVCCVCV	(35)	CCVCCV	(33)
CCVCVCV	(30)	CVCVCCV	(27)
VCVC	(30)	CCVCVC	(26)
CVCVCVCV	(28)	VCCVCV	(23)
(the top 20 = 2561)		(the top 20 = 3001)	

The type and token frequency relationship is an important factor that explains the ranks of certain structures. If frequency of a lexical item is viewed as token frequency and frequency of a particular C-V pattern as type frequency, then both the CV pattern (the first-ranked in Russ and the second-ranked in Sb), as well as some infrequent short patterns such as VC (22), can be explained in light of certain token frequencies among non-lexical categories. In Russ, the prominence of the CV pattern significantly stems from the combined high frequency of *ne* (212), *na* (66), *da* (55) *po* (22), *ni* (17) and *za* (16); and, similarly, it is frequent in Sb due primarily to the prominent occurrence of the following words: *ne* (119), *se* (106), *je* (102), *ko* (41), *na* (36), *od* (31), *ni* (28) and *za* (25). On the other hand, the infrequent pattern VC, for instance, correlates with a very limited number of words belonging to it, and to the low frequency of these words. Such words in Russ are the preposition *ot* (14) or rare oblique forms of pers. pron. *oni*, while in Sb these are mainly the prepositions *od* and *iz*.

Describing the frequencies of C-V patterns, we see, once again, that repetition, and structure, at the phonological and syllabic levels often can only be explained when related to the lexical level. This conclusion emphasizes the importance of undertaking both an analysis of word frequencies in the corpora and of word repetition in a proverb, which is done in Chapter III.

2.5.2 The initial and final positions in patterns and words

Consonant-vowel distribution in the initial and final positions is examined in this sub-section, with a particular interest in whether it stands in any significant relationship to word-initial alliteration, assonance, and rhyme.

In addition to the just discussed regularities in C-V sequencing, there is another one, common to both Russ and Sb, relating to how the pattern and word initial and final positions are filled. Approximately every fifth pattern in the corpus begins in a vowel, the rest beginning in a consonant, while patterns ending in a vowel are found more often than patterns ending in a consonant. In other words, the pattern-initial position is usually consonantal, while the pattern-final position is more commonly vocalic than consonantal. The statistics are presented in the following table.

Table 2.11: Consonant-vowel frequency in pattern-initial and pattern-final position (WI = word-initially, WF = word-finally)

		Russian	Serbian
WI	vowel	41 / 22.7%	23 / 22.1 %
	consonant	140 / 77.3%	81 / 77.9%
WF	vowel	110 / 60.8%	73 / 70.2%
	consonant	71 / 39.2%	31 / 29.8%

The only difference between Russ and Sb in this respect is that the patterns in Sb end in a vowel almost ten percent more often than they do in Russ.

As a curiosity, let us also note that all of the 20 least frequent patterns in Russ, and 6 in Sb, begin in a vowel. Characteristically, in Russ these are present tense reflexives prefixed with *ot-/u-*, e.g., *otprAšivajsa* in 215.

The data for the frequency of occurrence of all **words** belonging to particular C-V patterns, i.e., token frequency (rather than the C-V patterns themselves, i.e., type frequency) reveal an even greater association of word-initial position with consonants and of word-final position with vowels. In addition, the statistics for token frequency in the following table show that the difference between Russ and Sb is greater in the word-final position than the one for type frequency (see Table 2.11 above).

Table 2.12: Consonant-vowel frequency in word-initial and word-final position (WI = word-initially, WF = word-finally)

		Russian	Serbian
WI	vowel	385 / 12.2%	546 / 16.3%
	consonant	2764 / 87.8%	2795 / 83.7%
WF	vowel	1899 / 60.3%	2784 / 83.3%
	consonant	1250 / 39.7%	557 / 16.7%

While it is noted that Sb words begin in a vowel approximately four percent more often than do the Russ ones, the real difference between Russ and Sb is at the word-end: the ratio between vowels and consonants in the final position in the Russ corpus is approximately 6 to 4, while in the Sb corpus it is more than 8 to 2.

Overall, such word-initial and word-final distribution of consonants and vowels stands in a cause-effect relationship with phonological devices of repetition.

On the one hand, the high word-initial frequency of consonants is reflected in the prominence of word-initial alliteration and, at the same time, in the absence of word-initial assonance, as was seen in 2.3.2.1. In this relationship lies thus the significance of the regularities in C-V distribution; for it shows that the relative frequency of word-initial alliteration and infrequency of word-initial assonance are in correspondence with (the frequency of) C-V distribution in the respective positions, rather than, say, reasons inherent to the poetics of the two devices of repetition.

On the other hand, it is likely that the word-final predominance of vowels will have a reflection in the higher frequency of open (vocalic) than closed (consonantal) rhymes, in Sb in particular. This hypothesis is tested in the analysis of rhyme in 2.7 below.

2.6 Frequencies in the syllable/word relationship

The most salient finding concerning disyllables, reveals a strong relationship between frequency of syllable length and frequency of the just discussed CV patterns, as illustrated in 2.6.1 below.

An analysis of frequency of words with a particular syllabic length in the corpus is conducted first, in order to obtain a general picture of syllable length. Following this, the frequency of repetition of particular syllabic lengths in a proverb (regardless of syllabic meter patterns) is discussed.

2.6.1 Word syllable length frequency in the corpus

Let us first take a look at frequency distribution of particular word syllable lengths in each part of the corpus as a whole. The counts presented in the table below are for all the words[20] in Russ and Sb corpus.

Table 2.13: Word syllable length/frequency relationship in the corpus

	Russian	Serbian
SYLL./word		
one	1130 / 37.33%	1195 / 35.98%
two	1088 / 35.94%	1452 / 43.72%
three	601 / 19.85%	545 / 16.41%
four	170 / 5.61%	111 / 3.34%
five	34 / 1.12%	17 / 0.51%
six	4 / 0.13%	1 / 0.03%
SYLLABIC words total	3027	3321

Interpreting the data in the table, three common and two corpus-specific regularities in word syllable length come to the forefront.

The first two, common to both languages, are the following: firstly, the upper syllabic length 'tolerated' in proverbial discourse is that of six syllables, although occurring extremely rarely, and secondly, words with more than three syllables are rare, especially in Sb.

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[20]There are five words of the *bogu-to* or the *po-božju* type in the Russ corpus. These are each counted as a single word. For the purpose of obtaining the statistics for word syllabic length only, five compound forms, spelled with a hyphen (e. g., *otcu-materi*), are counted as two words.

Thirdly, as it would be expected, according to the principle of 'least effort' argued for by G. Zipf (Crystal 1994:87), the results indicate that the relationship between word frequency and word syllabic length is indeed, in general, inversely proportional. This regularity is, in terms of the prominence of particular words in the discourse, further confirmed in 3.5 in Chapter III, which concerns lexical repetition.

The figures indicating the corpus-specific regularities are particularly interesting. The first, and at first glance surprising figure in the table above is the one for disyllables in Sb. It contradicts the just noted inversely proportionate relationship between frequency and syllable length as a statistical universal, for it turns out that disyllables in Sb are much more frequent than monosyllables. Compared to Russ, in which monosyllables are slightly more frequent than the disyllables, the share of disyllables in the Sb corpus is almost eight percentage points greater than it is for words of the same length in Russ. This appears to be an important difference.

The same kind of difference between Russ and Sb is also found in a frequency correlation between the CV patterns and syllable length: out of all the words belonging to the top ten CV patterns, 624 are disyllables in Russ, while in the analogous group in Sb there are slightly more than twice as many disyllables: 1280 words. If the same comparison is made for the top twenty CV patterns, then the proportion is 964 disyllables in Russ and 1339 disyllables in Sb.

Pursuing an explanation for this unusual discourse preference for disyllables to monosyllables in Sb, one finds it, at least partially, in the fact that some key words in Sb are disyllables: among the top 30 words, nine disyllables are found in Sb, compared to only three such words in Russ (see more on the most frequent words in Chapter III).

More importantly, however, the answer is found when we turn to the C-V word structure and that of Sb disyllables in particular (see discussion of C-V patterns in 2.5 above). On the one hand, in comparison with Russ, Sb displays a simplicity of C-V patterns, which is seen in merely 104 such patterns in Sb vs. 181 patterns in Russ. On the other hand, most disyllables in Sb have the CVCV structure, which itself represents the simplest form of a simultaneous C-V repetition **and** parallelism, a phonological structure which does satisfy the 'least effort' requirement. Furthermore, Sb disyllables commonly end in a vowel. Hence, the greater frequency of occurrence of

disyllables in Sb stems from the ease of effort based on the phonological features rather than merely on length of the words.

Whether the prominence of disyllables in Sb is discourse-specific or language-specific, and whether the same explanation for it would hold for the Serbian language in general, is difficult to suggest before having compared our findings with such syllable length-frequency data for the language as a whole, as well as with similar data for related discourse types. Such data are, however, to the best of my knowledge, not available yet.

In another comparison between Russ and Sb, worth noting is the sharper decline in frequency of words with more than two syllables in Sb than in Russ. A greater share of words with 3, 4, 5 and 6 syllables each in Russ than of words with the equivalent length in Sb is progressively maintained in the data obtained. This fact further underlines the simplicity of the Sb C-V patterns to which **most** words belong, as a much greater number of words belong to the most frequent patterns in Sb than they do in Russ (e. g., the top ten patterns are made up of 2567 Sb token structures vs. 1998 Russ ones).

2.6.2 Word syllable length repetition in a proverb

Particular word syllable length repetition is found, predictably, in proverbs of various length, including the shortest ones, but it is most transparently realized in some of the longer proverbs, in which monosyllables are found in repetition in a proverb up to 19 times and disyllables up to 10 times. Significantly, this latter record is found in repetition of Sb disyllables, the most numerous syllable length in the Sb corpus.

2.6.2.1 Frequency of word syllable length repetition

We saw in 2.6.1 above that the most frequent length in the Sb corpus is disyllabic, in 43.72% of all words, which is approximately eight per cent more than the share of disyllables in the Russ corpus. The following analysis of individual proverbs correspondingly shows that the disyllable in Sb is also the syllabic length that is most often repeated in a proverb, once again with a considerably greater prominence in Sb than in Russ. The frequencies for proverbs in which a particular syllabic length occurs three or more times,

which takes place in a great majority of proverbs, are shown in the following table.

Table 2.14: Syllabic length repetition in individual proverbs

	Russian Syllables in the word					Serbian Syllables in the word			
Number of words	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**
3	97	111	42	4	1	84	138	38	
4	45	50	12			64	82	8	1
5	35	16	4			22	43		
6	11	10	1			19	15		
7	3	2	1			7	5		
8	4		1			2	4		
9						2	1		
10							1		
19	1								
Total proverbs	**196**	**189**	**61**	**4**	**1**	**200**	**289**	**46**	**1**

Salient points regarding repetition of syllable length emerge when the table is read in either of the following two ways: according to the number of words of a particular syllabic length occurring in a proverb (reading vertically), and, more interestingly, according to the syllabic length found in repetition in a proverb (reading horizontally).

In terms of number of occurrences of a particular length in a proverb, leaving aside the odd Russ 269 with 19 monosyllables, Sb proverbs go farther in repetition of monosyllables and, particularly, disyllables than do the Russ ones, while the reverse is the case in repetition of words with three syllables, which are more often, and in greater numbers in a proverb, repeated in Russ than they are in Sb. In a vast majority, repetitions of monosyllabic and disyllabic words consist of between three and six words of the same length in a proverb, while the trisyllabic words are normally found to occur three, and much less often, four times in a proverb.

2.6.2.2 Word syllable length repetition, rhythm and parallelism

Repetition of the same syllabic length, in stressed words in particular, is often found to have a salient effect on rhythm and formal parallelism in a proverb.

Two main patterns, each with a distinctive effect on rhythm, can be distinguished in multiple syllable length repetition. One is seen in repetition of a successive single identical syllabic length in a relatively large number of words, or all (stressed) words in a proverb, which consequentially results in a simple (single beat, so to speak) and **harmonious** rhythmic motion of mutually co-measurable units. Proverbs in which such a syllabic rhythm is interrupted by a single word of a different length may also be seen as examples of this pattern (e. g., Russ 465), as the interruption only makes the repetition more salient.

The other pattern consists of one of the following two types: a) repetition of alternating syllabic length, disyllables and trisyllables in particular, which results in a more complex and **dynamic** rhythm, or b) a shift in syllable length, the principal effect of which is parallelism. In principle, the former pattern may be interpreted as realization of a fulfilled expectation, while the latter corresponds with a betrayed expectation.

A third pattern may be identified in relatively short proverbs. Rather than a rhythmic pattern, its characteristic is a syllabic length parallelism between the words in the proposition-final or proposition-initial position, or between the propositions themselves.

In terms of number of syllables in repetition, monosyllables, in spite of their frequent occurrence, are far less relevant and interesting, due to the fact (indicated in the analysis of CV patterns above) that these are in the majority unstressed non-lexical words, which, given their syntactic functions, do not often appear successively.

There are, however, a few very interesting exceptions, in which monosyllables, in repetition with disyllables, are effectively used in modeling a special rhythmic structure.

One type of such rhythmic structure is marked, in the first instance, by parallelism and contrast, which are not limited only to the syllable level but can also be seen at most if not all structural levels. A good example is the symmetrical decasyllable distich in Sb 1 */Ako dOđe prAv, ne izlđe zdrAv; ako*

dOđe krlv, ne izlđe žlv/, in which each of the four semi-verses terminates with a monosyllabic adjective ending in a /v/ and having also alliteration of /r/. As the vowels in each of the two adjectival pairs are identical and bear the same accent: short-falling in *prav — zdrav*, long-falling in *kriv — živ*, there is a full rhyme in each pair, and a multi-feature phonetic and prosodic contrast between the two pairs: back, low and short /a/ vs. front, high and long /i/. The monosyllabic endings preceding a break in the semi-verses are themselves preceded each with two disyllabic accent units — which contrast in word syllable length within each verse — so that parallelism can be seen both in accent units between the odd semi-verses (2-2-1 : 2-2-1) and between the even ones (4-1 : 4-1), and in syllabic meter between the two verses (2-2-1/4-1 // 2-2-1/4-1). In congruence with the falling accent of the monosyllables, the rhythmic motion, which ends in monosyllables in each semi-verse, attains a falling character. This proverb with a two-fold cause-effect structure is one of the best examples of multi-level repetition resulting in a complex intertwining modeling of both formal and semantic parallelism and contrast, and rhythm resembling the repetitive rhythm of an ancient folk **ritual**. Very similar close relationship between word repetition and syllable length repetition on the one hand and parallelism and rhythm on the other may in Sb be seen in the vast majority of other decasyllabic distichs in the corpus: 21, 100, 134, 303, 363, 437 and 448.

Rather than describing proverbs like this further at various levels in each chapter, I offer a sample analysis of a Sb and a Russ proverb in 2.8 below, in order to illustrate the already evident fact that it is repetition of **multiple** devices, rather than of a single devices, at different levels, that prevails in those proverbs that are marked for repetition.

The most effective in shaping a harmonious rhythmic structure in a proverb is repetition of disyllables. As disyllables are both the only prominent syllabic length (besides monosyllables) in the corpus, and are frequently found in repetition in a proverb, disyllable repetition is the most significant one in the discourse.

An excellent example of a harmonious isosyllabic, or what we may term the 'single beat rhythm', based on repetition of disyllables, is Sb 21 */BlAgo Onom kOga srEća hrAni, a tEško Onom kOga snAga hrAni/*. This proverb consists of two decasyllables, one on each side of the connector *a*, which is a prominent syllabic pattern in the Sb corpus. Prosodic, syllabic,

lexical and grammatical repetition creates a perfect parallelism between the propositions, countered at the same time by the semantic contrast between the two pairs of distinctive words: */blAgo, srEća — tEško, snAga/*.

In addition to Sb 21, there are a number of proverbs consisting of anywhere between three and ten stressed words in which either all words or all stressed words are disyllables. All words in a proverb are disyllabic in Russ 307, 355 (three words), 23, 174, 310, 382, 455 (four words), and 15 (five words). In Sb such are 56, 113, 233, 395, 421, 422 (three words), 40, 53, 133, 228, 235, 351, 427, 434, 447 (four words), 80, 260 (five words) and 8, 138 (six words). Those proverbs in which all stressed words are disyllables are more frequent in Russ and include, to take just those with five or more isosyllabic words, Russ 112, 340, 366, 367 and 443. Among the proverbs with all the words of the same length most frequent are those with four disyllables: in Sb, in 9 proverbs (while those with 5 disyllables number four, and those with three number six). These proverbs with four words of the same length are segmented in two parallel word-pairs.

The same kind of isosyllabic repetition is found also among monosyllables (e.g., Russ 61, 64, 415, 439, 441, Sb 287) and, sometimes, in trisyllables (see below).

Examples of alternating syllabic length as a rhythmic device include the following: in Russ, 2-3/2-3 in 291, 313, 347; 3-2/3-2 in 205; 3-4/3-4 in 224, 1-3/1-3 in 233; 2-2-3/2-2-3 in 236; 4-3/4-3 in 290; ; 2/2 in 240, 1-2/1-2 in 270, 3-2-3/3-2-2 in 237, as well as in, e.g., 277, 280, 363, 381, 436, 450; and in Sb, 2-1/2-1 in 120, 140; 1-3-1-2 in 196. Some examples of a switch in syllable length of stressed words are, e.g., in Russ, 3-3-3/2-2 in 200, 2-2/3-3 in 264, 360; 1-1/2-2 in 373; or 4-4-2-2 in 275.

An interesting parallel syllabic structure with a <u>rising</u> rhythmic motion arising from a gradation in word syllabic length can be seen, for instance, in Sb 106: */ĐE su kOla mUdrosti, tU su dvOja lUdosti/*, while the stress remains in the initial syllable, or in Russ 113 */lže, ne vrI že; jegO že, ne prigOže/*, where, in addition to rhyme and paronomasia, pause and stress also function as important rhythmic signals segmenting the syllabic length of stress units into 2-3/3-4 structure. A triple parallelism of a rising syllabic pattern can be seen among the clauses in Russ 258.

As was the case in the analysis of assonance and alliteration, there is also frequently found isosyllabic parallelism, which is particularly salient in

the final or initial words in propositions in proverbs in which most words are of another, and the same, length, i.e., different from the length of the two parallel words, e.g., Russ 36, 58, 89, 119, Sb 27, 73, 198, or 199.

Failing the actual, exact parallelism, an approximate syllabic length parallelism of either the stressed or all words is frequently found (e. g., 4-2/3-2), especially when the final words in propositions rhyme, in proverbs such as Russ 287 */Ni prAvedniku vencA, ni grEšniku koncA/*, or in 2-3-4/2-3-3 structure in 292, in which propositions are long enough to invoke an anticipation of repetition of the syllabic pattern, so that the effect of betrayed expectation is also felt.

Contrast in word syllable length between syntactically parallel or symmetrical propositions may also be noticed, e.g., between the odd words in Russ 408 */T'Omna nOčen'ka — rodnAja mAtuška/*, which also contrast in stress position.

Metric patterns in general are a topic that remains for further study. One that has been well researched in Serbian epic poetry is the decasyllable (e.g., Jakobson 1933, Petrović 1986). It characteristically shows a rhythmic organization-patterning through syllabic parallelism of propositions and sequencing of disyllables and trisyllables. Most often its syllabic structure is 2-2/3-3, e.g., 71, 381, 390 and 485. The symmetrical decasyllable is typically found with the structure 2-3/2-3, e.g., 134, 363 or 408, or 3-2/3-2, e.g., 469 or 490, or in a 'mirror' parallelism, e.g., 3-2/2-3 in 179, and so on. If this syllabic length is not realized at the word level, it is, alternatively, at the level of stress units, that is in the form of a stressed monosyllable plus clitic, or disyllable plus clitic.

For the sake of clarity, it should be said that repetition of syllabic length in stress units is certainly relevant, as such units are also an important factor in rhythmic modeling. Our analysis in this section is, however, in principle limited to the syllabic length of words as independent units of rhythmic motion. Additionally, some attention was paid to rhythmic patterns of stress units in the analysis of assonance above, particularly in 2.2.2.1.2.

As few as they are, quite interesting are the proverbs with repetition of multi-syllable words.

The longest word length in repetition in a proverb in Russ is with 5 syllables, found only in two proverbs, both times in the form of a homoioteleuton: in two words in 215 */naprAšivajsa — otprAšivajsa/*, and in

three words in 357 */pravoslAvnaja — bogatYrskaja — sv'atorUsskaja/*. The distribution of parts of speech among the 38 longest Russ words, 5-syllable or 6-syllable words, is interesting. The most numerous are verbs (21), 17 of which are reflexive, usually 2.sg. or 3.sg. pres. tense, followed by 11 adjectives, 4 nouns, an adverb(ial) and a numeral.

In Sb, words of longer than 4-syllable length are not repeated in a proverb, and a four-syllable one is found in only one instance: in the four syntactically parallel words forming a double homoioteleuton rhyme in 280 */Ne bOji se tIca vEčernjega hvAlioca, nego jUtrenjega rAnioca/*. Characteristic of the four words in this proverb is also a multiple prosodic repetition (accent on the initial syllable, short accent, short-rising on the nouns, post-accentual length on the penultimate syllables) and a multiple grammatical repetition (gen. sg., parts of speech, adjective and substantive class and desinence, gender and number). Countering this complex repetition, to the foreground comes the semantic contrast of the two parallel syntagms.

To sum up, repetition in the form of isosyllabism, particularly in the longer proverbs, is found to be an effective device of rhythmic organization. On the other hand, in the proverbs with few even occurrences of isosyllabic words, more pronounced an effect than rhythm is syllabic parallelism. As can be seen from the examples above, repetition of isosyllabic words, disyllables in particular, is often integrated with other devices of repetition, notably with rhyme. This should be interpreted as evidence that, in the most prominent instances, repetition of syllabic length is not coincidental but rather, along with rhyme, an important device in modeling a structure marked for rhythm and parallelism.

2.7 Rhyme

Both the frequency of occurrence and its discourse roles set rhyme apart from all other devices of repetition, as the single most prominent feature both in Russ and Sb.

Rhyme occurs in Russ, in one form or another, in 347 proverbs, or 69.4 per cent of all proverbs in the corpus. The fact that in almost one third of these proverbs it is a **multiple** rhyme (precisely, in 110 proverbs) further underlines its importance in Russ proverbs. In Sb rhyme is found in 231 (46.4%) proverbs, out of which 50 proverbs contain multiple rhyme. In both

languages rhyme occurs in three, four or five words in the same proverb, and in two odd instances in Russ (128 and 257) in seven and eight words, respectively. But rhyme is even more frequent in **double** and sometimes in **triple rhyming pairs**, a feature relevant for the role rhyme plays in creation of formal parallelism, as we shall see later.

Once this "want for rhyme" in the proverb is fully observed, it is perhaps not surprising to note that rhyme occurs even in the shortest proverb, the two-word proverb in Sb (348 /***Oteto, prOkleto***/ and 435). It is also found in six three-word proverbs in each part of the corpus (Russ 125 /***ŽYzn'*** *žYzni* ***rOzn'***/, 230, 322, 337, 398 and 495; Sb 42, 66 /***GramAtika*** *dRvena* ***mOtika***/, 297, 389, 421 and 445).

While these shortest proverbs with rhyme are quite unusual, it is shown in the analysis below that rhyme in four-word proverbs, and in proverbs with four stressed words in particular, is more important. It is particularly relevant in modeling the omnipresent parallelism as one of the most noticeable effects of repetition.

Prior to attempting an analysis of rhyme in our corpus, a note on a previous study of rhyme in Russian proverbs is necessary.

2.7.1 Previous study of rhyme

Following Jakobson's characterization of rhyme — the essence of which is that rhyme is either grammatical (rhyme both with homophony and grammatical identity) or antigrammatical (rhyme without grammatical identity), but never agrammatical (i.e., never devoid of a relationship with grammar)[21]— Levin (1964:3-11) analyzes antigrammatical rhyme in Russian proverbs according to "dependence upon the grammatical status of the rhyming words" (1964:4). On the basis of this criterion, he finds out that "a number of proverbs (1-41) contain rhyming words which are the same part of speech; a second group (42-120) consists of proverbs in which the rhyming words, though not the same part of speech, are both inflected forms; the last

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[21]Levin (1964:3) cites the following: "Rhyme is usually defined as correspondence in terminal sounds, but at the same time it always matters whether the rhyming elements are merely homophonous or whether they are grammatically identical." [Jakobson, R. (1949). "The Phonemic and Grammatical Aspects of Language in Their Interrelations". Proceedings of the Sixth International Congress of Linguists. Paris: Librairie C. Klincksieck, p. 14.]

group (121-145) contains inflected forms opposed to non-inflected ones" (1964:4). Describing rhyme in the three particular groups "with a view to the grammatical meaning of the desinences upon which the rhymes are based" in detail, Levin pays a great deal of attention to grammatical desinences and grammatical forms of the rhyming words. Only a brief comment is given with regard to the aspects of rhyme which are more relevant for the poetics of repetition, such as quality, gender and distribution of rhyme.

Levin's analysis of rhyme is exhaustive and valuable from the point of view of grammar. Such an exhaustive analysis of rhyme does not, however, go beyond antigrammatical rhyme,[22] for elsewhere in his thesis rhyme receives attention only either as an element in the four "phonetic formulae" (1964:119-126), designated as: *plačet — skačet, gusto — pusto, beda — voda,* and *gore — more* — or, in his Chapter IV (1964:127-150), where distribution of rhyme is discussed as a basis for dividing tripartite proverbs into two propositions.

As a confirmation of the principal assumption of his thesis — that all proverbs are bipartite — Levin demonstrates that, due to the role of "rhyme

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[22]The only serious criticism of Levin's study of repetition in Russ proverbs may be directed towards a general tendency not to substantiate his conclusions with synthetical quantitative expressions of his analyses' findings. For instance, no frequency statistics are given even for rhyme, which is found to be the most fundamental device of repetition (from the number of examples though it can be figured out that antigrammatical rhyme occurs in 10.5% of the proverbs in his corpus). Furthermore, even though not even simple statistics are given, phrases like "statistically significant" are used. Random calculations show, however, that it is sometimes difficult to justify their use (e. g., regarding the occurrence of pleophony, on p. 11, which turns out to occur in 2.25 per cent of proverbs in his corpus). And finally, in a foot-note in a later publication he does give a summary statistics of the major devices of repetition in the same corpus analyzed in his thesis, giving 10 per cent as the figure for repetition of "phonetic devices" (Levin 1968:187). As his only phonetic devices are antigrammatical rhyme and pleophony, in our calculation it turns out that their frequency in Levin's corpus is actually slightly higher — 12.75 per cent.

A more fundamental criticism with regard to the statistical validity, however, is in the following. The frequency statistics, when provided, in studies based on a non-randomly selected corpus, such as Levin's, do not have any value as indicators of either repetition in general or of frequency distribution among the devices of repetition in proverbial discourse. The former is true simply because all the proverbs in such a sample are chosen for **having** repetition of one device or another, and the latter happens because one can choose to have more or fewer entries marked with repetition of any particular device, which then gives a false impression that the frequency distribution of repetition of such devices in reality is analogous to the one found in the examples that are analyzed.

as a device of division" (1964:128), tripartite proverbs consist of two propositions, as do other, bipartite proverbs. Rhyme, "the most common element among the proverbs" (1964:128), is used as the crucial criterion for a description of a patterning which in tripartite proverbs takes place in such a manner that "the first two terms comprehend the first proposition, and the third term stands as the second proposition" (1964:127). In the three terms of tripartite proverbs, three types of rhyme are found to occur: ab rhyme, bc rhyme, abc rhyme/or no rhyme at all, and it is claimed that while either the ab or the bc rhyme may be a device sufficient to underline a bipartite structure, in the instance of abc or no rhyme, other devices are also necessary.

The focus in this thesis is rather on the phonetic-phonological aspects of rhyme, while grammatical desinences involved in rhyme are given considerably less attention. In other words, this analysis of rhyme is principally concerned with the structure of homophony in rhyme, in terms of, on the one hand, the sounds rhyme most prominently consists of, and quality, gender and distribution of rhyme, on the other. Additionally, the extent of such homophony is analyzed and discussed. Besides the fact that rhyme in Russian proverbs has already been studied from the point of view of grammar, this approach is taken for several other reasons.

Firstly, a survey shows that an overwhelming majority of rhymes are grammatical and not only do they involve the same parts of speech but also, in most instances, an identity of nominal class, of case and number (in nominal and adjectival rhymes) or identity of verbal class, tense, person, number, and/or aspect (in verbal rhymes).

Secondly, the most important grammatical properties of words, including those in, but not restricted to, rhyming words are dealt with in Chapter IV, which discusses relevant grammatical categories found in repetition in the same proverb: case (and number), tense (and person), and verbal aspect. Needless to say, grammatical properties of rhyme do, however, come to the forefront in two instances in particular: in the discussion of homoioteleuton, and the relationship of rhyme to other devices of repetition.

Thirdly, the grammaticality of rhyme is a complex issue that can not be addressed in this thesis. For instance, it is unclear whether rhyme in different parts of speech but with identity of gender or/and other grammatical properties is grammatical or not.

The methodological advantage of this approach may be seen, on the one hand, in that all the instances of euphonic likeness of terminal sounds are studied as rhyme in the analysis of phonological repetition in this chapter, and that, on the other hand, all the instances of grammatical sameness achieved by means of repetition of case, tense (including number and person) and verbal aspect (and, implicitly, the semantic properties associated with these) are analyzed in Chapter IV.

Thus, analyzing grammatical repetition later also enables us to pay special attention to some prosodic and rhythmic aspects of rhyme, aspects that bear no direct relationship to grammatical repetition.

2.7.2 Prosody and the comparative Russian-Serbian aspects of rhyme

Differences in accentuation between the Russian and Serbian languages are a major source, on the one hand, of the substantially higher overall frequency of rhyme in Russ, and of some distinctive tendencies in distribution of gender and quality of rhyme in Russ and Sb, on the other. There are two factors that are responsible for some important differences between Russ and Sb. Both concern the phonological consequences of stress distribution.

The first factor is the position of stress. The fact that stress in Russian can occur in any syllable and that it often occurs in the final position means that repetition of a vowel that commonly occurs in the word-final position (such as /a/) under stress constitutes minimal rhyme. Consequently, monosyllabic vocalic rhyme in polysyllabic words in the form of a single stressed final vowel is common in Russ, but is not found in Sb at all due to the fact that accent in Sb polysyllabic words can not occupy the final syllable. Also, the majority of Sb monosyllabic words ending in a vowel are unstressed. It follows, thus, that the rhyming vowel in the word-final position in Sb is always unstressed, while in Russian it can be either unstressed or stressed.

The latter is indeed often encountered in the Russ corpus. Both types can be seen for instance in Russ 8 /***BedA navalIla, mužikA*** *sofsEm* ***zadavIla***/. The rhyme of the stressed /a/ in the symmetrical proposition-initial words in this example may also be viewed as assonance of word-final vowels. Such

assonantial rhyme is frequent as syntactically parallel or symmetrically distributed, usually in the proposition-final position (see 2.2.2.1.1.2 above).

What is also a characteristic of this simplest variety of vocalic rhyme in Russ is a tendency of identity of the unstressed vowels preceding the stressed vowel, particularly in disyllables, which is a result of vowel reduction in unstressed syllables. This is found in a large number of such rhymes in Russ, such as in the final two rhyming words in Russ 25 */BUd' ženA xOt' kozA, llž by zolotYe rogA/*.

In any case, occurrence in the final position gives this identity of a single stressed non-initial vowel in Russ greater saliency than that found in repetition of a single stressed non-initial vowel in Sb.

The other distinctive factor in rhyme is the existence of post-accentual length in the Serbian language:

> (...) rima se javlja u raznovrsnim oblicima, čemu doprinose razlike u akcenatskom kvantitetu i kvalitetu (intonaciji), kao i fenomen neakcentovanih dužina '(...) rhyme occurs in various forms, to which differences in accent quantity and quality (intonation) contribute, as well as the phenomenon of the un-accented lengths' (Rečnik 1985:656).[23]

A difficulty with post-accentual lengths in the Serbian language is in that they are not a feature of the peripheral dialects and are unevenly kept in the actual spoken language (in spite of their being a feature of the standard idiom), in dependence on the dialectal origin of the speaker. Since linguistic features of the Sb corpus indicate that the majority of the proverbs in this selection originate from the central Serbian dialects — and these dialects are known for preserving the post-accentual lengths — they are expected to be a relevant element of rhyme. Therefore, as prosodic saliency of vowels in Serbian stems not only from stress but also from post-accentual length, besides accented vowels in Sb, the identical long post-accentual vowels need to be analyzed as bearers of rhyme. (As an insurance for accuracy in the reading of post-accentual lengths, the dialectal origin of the author of this thesis is Montenegrin-Herzegovinian.)

It is expected that their participation in rhyming will explain, at least partially, the large disproportion in number of proverbs with rhyme in Russ and Sb — that is, if only correspondence of stressed terminal vowels is

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[23]For the sake of comparability of the analysis for Russ and Sb, the intonational aspects of Serbian rhyme are only pointed at in passing, but not analyzed.

counted as rhyme — as it is done for the data given in the introduction above.

The effects of stress on the subsequent sound sequences in Russ and Sb are thus diametrically opposite in a large number of words. While stress in Russ is followed by a reduction of the subsequent vowels, in Sb it is often followed by lengthening of the subsequent vowel(s), in the first instance, in present tense, past tense and definite aspect adjectives. For this reason, repetition of an unstressed long terminal vowel in Sb is analyzed here as a form of salient (minimal) rhyme, in addition to rhyme in which one vowel is stressed and the other long unstressed.

A cross-language comparison of the frequency of occurrence of rhymes marked by the identity of a prosodically salient vowel is consequently made below, on the one hand, between rhymes in stressed vowels in Russ, and rhymes in stressed or/and post-accentually long vowels in Sb, on the other. For example, in Sb 2, the final /e/ in both present tense forms /*Ujede*/ and /*Ošine*/ — which, characteristically for rhyming words, appear as the end-words in propositions — is long: /*Ako* ***zIma Ustima*** *ne UjedEE, Ona rEpom OšinEE*/. In this proverb, thus, in addition to the non-parallel rhyme in /*zIma Ustima*/, there is a parallel assonantial rhyme of the final /e/ in the two end-words. Instances of vowel saliency such as these were not considered in the analysis of assonantial parallelism above, since only the stressed vowels were the concern there. Attention is therefore paid to such proverbs in this section.

And finally, besides the occurrence of stress in the final syllable in Russ, another factor that frequently brings about correspondence of word-final vowels in Russ but not in Sb is the vowel reduction in the unstressed syllable, a characteristic of the Russian language in general. Since unstressed /a/ or /e/ following a soft consonant in the post-stress position is in ordinary pronunciation reduced to [i], assonantial rhyme involving [i] in the post-stress Russ vowels, for instance in present tense verbs, is rather frequently encountered. Some examples are the following: in present tense endings, in Russ 30 /*CErkov'* ***grAbit***, *dA kolokOl'n'u* ***krOet***/, in nom. — gen. sg. neuter nouns ending in *-e*, in Russ 337 /***PoftorEn'je*** *— mAt'* ***učEn'ja***/. The sameness of post-stress rhymes due to vowel reduction is especially pronounced in verbal (present tense) homoioteleuton. Morpho-phonological differences in present tense conjugational classes in Russ, e.g., in 83 and 195, disappear at the

phonological level, causing the present tense stem forming desinences to merge into an /i/, so that rhyming occurs between occurrences of [i] and/or [y], identical according to height.

2.7.3 Gender of rhyme

There is a great difference between Russ and Sb with regard to whether the final sound in rhyme is a vowel or a consonant.

While open or vocalic rhyme occurs in Russ more often than closed or consonantal, a vast majority of rhymes in Sb are vocalic. The data are shown in the following table.

Table 2.15: Gender of rhyme

	Russian	Serbian
vocalic	164 / 47.3%	191 / 82.7%
consonantal	133 / 38.3%	31 / 13.4%
voc. + cons. (2 rhyming pairs)	49 / 14.1%	9 / 3.9%
Total	347	231

It is also interesting that ten (2.9%) of consonantal rhymes in Russ are two-fold, i.e., consist of two rhyming pairs, e.g., Russ */**TOlst**, dA **prOst**; **tOnok**, dA **zvOnok**/*, once even of three rhyming pairs (Russ 409 */**TEst'** l'Ubit **čEst'**, **z'At'** l'Ubid **vz'At'**, a **šUrin** glazA **š:Urit**/*), and that in 44 proverbs (12.7%) one of the two rhyming pair is consonantal. On the other hand, the former is encountered in Sb only once (Sb 140 */Izio **pAs talAmbas**: Rđava **čAst**, a gOlem **glAs**/)*, and the latter in seven instances.

Worth note, however, is that in both Russ and Sb a rather large number of vocalic rhymes comprises two rhyming pairs, and that these make up a larger share of all vocalic rhymes in Russ than in Sb (23.8% and 16.2%, respectively). In addition, in Russ 474 */**XodI** — ne **šatAjs'a**, **govorI** — ne **zaikAjs'a**, jEš — ne **ob`jedAjs'a**, stOj — ne **kačAjs'a**/* and Sb 449 */TUrci **pOlje**, a **LatIni mOre**, a **HrIšćani dRvlje** i **kAmenje**/* all three rhyming pairs (in Sb also all words) end in a vowel.

The explanation for this large difference in distribution of the two genders of rhyme between Russ and Sb is the following.

There is a noticeable correspondence between the gender of proposition-final rhyme and the morpho-phonological structure of the

predominate parts of speech occurring in the end-word. An analysis of the final sound in the end-word in all proverbs shows that in Russ consonants are more common than vowels (56% vs. 44%, respectively). This is largely due to the high frequency of closed conjugational desinences, as a verb is the end-word in exactly 50 per cent of proverbs. Thus, Russ is marked for commonness of closed rhymes particularly in verbal desinences. Curiously, a verb is also the end-word in 50% per cent of proverbs in Sb, but due to the vocalic ending of Serbian conjugational desinences, the end-words in Sb are, on the contrary, an important source of open rhymes.

As we saw in the table above, the disproportion in the frequency of open and closed proposition-final rhymes between Russ and Sb in general (that is, apart from verbal rhymes) is even greater. This is explained by the vocalic ending of Sb words in general, as the analysis of consonant-vowel word patterns shows (see 2.5.2 above). The end-word in the proposition in Sb terminates in a vowel in 90.8%, and in consonants in 9.2%, and this proportion is generally in correspondence with that between vocalic and consonantal rhymes, respectively.

Rhyme is predominantly grammatical, and this fact explains a great deal both of the general frequency of rhyme and gender distribution of rhyme. The source of the majority of parallel rhymes are grammatical repetitions in proverbs with parallelism of the structure in the propositions.

Multiple rhyming grammatical repetition constitutes homoioteleuton, a figure which is typically found in multiple repetition of verbs. Verbal homoioteleuton frequently occurs as identity both of tense, person and number (e.g., Russ 83, 119, 121, 167, 195, 300, 306, 331, 474), and is described in detail in the discussion of tense/mood in Chapter IV (4.6).

One source of the identity of gender is repetition of the same desinence. Verbal desinences in Russ yield both vocalic and consonantal rhymes. The former most often terminate in the reflexive *-ca* (17 proverbs) and *-sa* (14 proverbs), the latter in the 3. pers. present tense final *-t* (43 proverbs), e.g., 83 */GospOd' **bogAtit i vYsit, ubOžit i smir'Aet**/* and infinitive final *-t'* (22 proverbs). In Sb, verbal rhymes are almost without exception vocalic. Rhyming present tense desinences are the most frequent ones (37 proverbs), followed by the infinitive (14), and aorist (9). The statistics indicate that repetition of present tense in general occurs quite often, and this is indeed confirmed in the analysis of tense repetition in Chapter IV (4.6).

On a final note regarding gender of rhyme, most rhymes are monosyllabic (masculine), although disyllabic (feminine) are often found, as well as sometimes trisyllabic (dactylic) and even polysyllabic (hyperdactilic). Rhyme of the latter two types alone can be sufficient to create a paronomasia, e.g., in Russ 67 */GdE **xOlodno**, tUt i **gOlodno**/* or 297 */**OkAčivajs'a** dA **povorAčivajs'a**/*.

2.7.4 Quality of rhyme

Full or real, absolute rhyme, i.e., a correspondence between both a stressed vowel and all the subsequent sounds, e.g., (rich full rhyme in) Russ 145 */**KrIvo**, **dA igrIvo**; **pr'Amo**, **dA upr'Amo**/*, Sb 289 */Ne Ispijaj svAkoj čAši **dAnce**, izvRnućeš U nebo **prkAnce**/* occurs in approximately 65% of all Russ proverbs with rhyme, and in 29% of all Sb proverbs with rhyme. Full rhyme is therefore in Russ more than twice as frequent than in Sb, and more prominent than near or approximate rhyme in Russ (found in 47% of all proverbs with rhyme). (In approximately 12% and 5% of all proverbs with rhyme in Russ and Sb, respectively, both full and near rhyme occur, each in a pair or more of rhyming words.) The frequency of occurrence of each full and near rhyme, and of their simultaneous occurrence in multiple rhyming pairs in a proverb is presented in the following table.

Table 2.16: Quality of rhyme

	Russian	Serbian
full rhyme	184 / 53.0%	54 / 23.4%
near rhyme	121 / 34.9%	164 / 71.0%
full + near (2 rhyming pairs)	42 / 12.1%	11 / 5.6%
Total	347	231

In addition to the differences shown in the table, no two-fold full rhyme occurs in Sb, while in Russ it is found in 28 proverbs, and in Russ 474 (above) even in a three-fold rhyme, i.e., in three rhyming word-pairs.

Two factors concerning the stress situation in the Russian language are particularly responsible for this difference, namely a) the fact that the stress in Russ tends to occur in or preceding the word-final syllable, and b) vowel reduction, particularly of unstressed vowels following a soft consonant.

In more detailed classifications of quality of rhyme in the Serbian language intonation and length, in addition to the position of the stress, are relevant factors, and there are different views as to how much identity of all the prosodic elements is required for a full rhyme. For the sake of comparability of Sb with Russ in this analysis, it is sufficient for Sb rhyming sequences to have identity of either stressed vowels or of post-accentually long vowels, or of one of each, in order to be taken as full rhyme.

Some interesting full rhymes include the following: a play on words in the homophony in Sb 345 (accompanied by an assonantial rhyme) /*Od* ***vOde vOde****, a od vIna* ***nOse***/, and partial homophony in Russ 494 /*ZdorOv* ***bUdu*** *— i dEneg* ***dobUdu***/; a full rhyme emerging out of vowel reduction in Russ: 205 /***br'Uxo*** *—* ***mUxa***/. An association of rhyme and syllabic structure of stress units, phrases and clauses in the creation of various types of rhythmic motion can be seen in the just cited examples, and in many others. An unusual variety is the monosyllabic Russ 415 /*TOlg dA* ***lAt*** *— tUt i* ***klAt***/, in which masculine rhyme coincides with word-initial and word-final alliteration with /t/ in non-rhyming words.

Near or approximate rhyme refers to various deviations from full rhyme, in which there is either a correspondence of post-accentual vowels but not consonants, or vice versa, or a partial identity of either one.

When only the stressed vowels and the subsequent unstressed vowel(s) are identical, the rhyme is in fact assonance, and such approximate rhyme is indeed in poetics termed assonantial rhyme (Rečnik 1985:656). Examples of double assonantial rhyme are found, e.g., in the parallel interpropositional rhyme in Sb 447 /***TUđa kOza*** / ***pUna lOja***/, 474.

Let us now take a look at some interesting and unusual near rhymes.

An interesting rhyme, with a metathesis of the consonants preceding the stressed vowel, occurs in /***vz'At'*** *—* ***zvAt'***/ in Russ 31, which is both a full and a near rhyme, the former in terms of homophony, the latter in terms of phonological sequencing. There are also similar instances of metathesis of the stressed and unstressed vowel: /A/ and /i/ in Russ 33 /***dAr'at*** *—* ***gl'ad'At***/.

The effects of a near rhyme can also be seen where the only difference between the terminal sound sequences is in a single distinctive feature of one of the sounds (usually voice in paired consonants), Russ 244 /*Ne* ***op'Ad'***

zatevAt'/, as well as where there is an additional difference in another consonant: Russ 243 /*(...)* ***prEžde smErti***/.

Often rhymes with opposition in a distinctive feature are found: in place of articulation, as, e.g., between fricatives /s/ and /š/ in Russ 124 /***ŽivI***, *ni o č'Om ne* ***tužI***; *fs'O* ***proživ'Oš*** *—* ***avOs'*** *ješčO* ***naživ'Oš***/, or in nasals /n/ and /m/ in 328 /***PoklOn*** *s* ***xoxlOm*** *(...)*/.

A rhyming link is also often created: a) between sequences opposed by plus or minus softness of a consonant (e. g., in Russ 133 /*KOl dA* ***brOden'*** *fs'Udu* ***gOden***/, or 276), b) between /I/ and /Y/ (e. g., in Russ 137 /*KomU* ***žYt'***, *a komU* ***gnIt'***/, 131 /***KnIgami*** *ne* ***lodYgami*** *igrAt'*/, also in Russ 132, 177, 197, 256, 259, 380), and c) between the symmetrical occurrences of the stressed /O/ and /E/ preceding the same consonant in the proposition-final position, e.g., in Russ 138 /*KomU* ***nevdom'Ok***, *tOd dObryj* ***čelovEk***/, or 142 /*KOška* ***skreb'Ot*** *na svOj na* ***xrebEt***/, or a combination of oppositions, as in 232 /*Ne bUd'* ***grAmoten***, *bUt'* ***pAm'aten***/. The conclusion is therefore drawn that the minimal requirements for rhyme effects to be felt are in the discourse very much relaxed, in Russ in particular.

Additionally, stress on just one of the identical syllables in parallel words is sufficient for creating a rhyming link between two words: /***-am*** *—* ***-Am***/ in Russ 442 /*F* ***kreposnYv*** *delAx po krepost'****Am****, v* ***nekreposnYx*** *— po rOzyskam*/, or Sb 445.

Post-accentual rhyme comprises different stressed vowels, but correspondence between two or more sounds following the stress (1. all following the stressed vowel, 2. all/most following the stressed syllable). According to Rečnik, "homophony is more pronounced" in this type of rhyme than in the rhyme in which there is identity of stressed vowels but not of (all) post-accentual sounds, e.g., *"moja — volja, cvetala — letela, bože — loše"* (1985:656). Examples are Russ 60 /*GdE* ***čAeca*** ***rAdosno***, *tAm* ***fstrEtica*** ***gOresno***/ and Sb 266 /***NAvika*** *je jEdna* ***mUka***, *a* ***Odvika*** *dvlje mUke*/.

As we saw earlier in this section, in addition to the identity of grammatical desinences, in Russ it is often the vowel reduction that creates or enhances homophony of terminal sounds in propositions. The same is also the main source of rich rhyme, i.e., the rhyme in which there is a correspondence of one or more sounds preceding the stressed vowel.

Rich full rhyme can be seen in the rhyming relative-demonstrative word-pairs, e.g., Russ 254 /*Ne* ***stOl'ko smertEj, skOl'ko skorbEj***/, but also in other words, e.g., Sb 23 /***BogAtstvo*** *pOkriva* ***horjAtstvo***/.

Rich near rhyme also occurs, sometimes involving whole words, e.g., /*Russ 419* ***TOt*** *čelovEk i* ***dOrok****, u kovO nOz* ***dOlok***/.

2.7.5 Distribution of rhyme

Parallel rhyme in the proposition-final words is the form in the vast majority of proverbs. For this reason, rhyme is the most important marker of the co-relatedness of the two propositions in a proverb. Since the two halves are frequently also syntactically and metrically parallel, they acquire the character of verse.

When a two-fold parallel rhyme occurs, it is not rare that all or most words in a proverb are involved in rhyme, e.g., Russ 174 /***LOška m'Odu, bOčka d'Oxt'u***/. In such a proverb, as a result of an extremely rudimentary structure, parallel rhyme may, paradoxically, occur contiguously, e.g., Russ 121 /***Živ'Oca — pojOca; umirAeca — dr'agAeca***/. On the other hand, the same kind of distribution of rhyme may result in what should be seen as a non-parallel rhyme in Sb 492 /***ŠOkci ubOkci, VlAsi sirOmasi***/, where the rhyming words in both pairs are the subject and (part of a nominal) predicate.

In the analysis of assonance, parallelism of stressed vowels was found to occur typically in proverbs with **four** stress units. The same is true for parallel rhyme, as in Russ 116 /*IstOra* ***deševA****, dA korYzd'* ***dorogA***/ or 122 /*Živl ne* ***lOžju*** *— bUdet po-***bOžju**/; in Sb 198 /*KO je* ***dUžan****, tAj je* ***tUžan***/ or 284 /*Ne gUli* ***kOre****, ne čIni* ***gOre***/. Examples are numerous, in Russ also: 14, 23, 37, 66, 67, 69, 77, 81, 88, 92, 137, 144, 167, 168, 181, 182, 187, 189, 205, 220, 265, 290, 309, 310, 314, 327, 343, 345, 347, 353, 371, 386, 389, 415, 416, 441, 447, 454, 480, 494, 497 and 500.

Besides the notable binary structure and grammatical parallelism in these proverbs, worth note also is the fact that the two concepts denoted by the words which rhyme, or having the identity of stressed vowels, are always co-related, often semantically contrastive or in a cause-effect relationship. Rhyme therefore has an important role in emphasizing this syntactic-

semantic relationship between the two concepts, that is, in providing it with a euphonic saliency.

Non-parallel rhyme in adjacent words is a device of euphonic likeness of sound. It is often found in association with parallel rhyme, e.g., Russ 252 */Ne **rAda bAba povOju, rAda p pokOju**/*. Most often it is declension of adjectives and nouns in a syntagm that is a source of contiguous rhyme in case endings in an adjective + noun syntagm, as in Russ 485 /Za čužOj golovOj spolAgor'a žYt'/. Non-parallel rhyme is rare in its occurrence as the only rhyme in a proverb.

Non-parallel rhyme is also found in final words of adjacent phrases, as in Sb 15 */Bez **drUštva** nEma **junAštva**/* and 16 */Bez **zbOra** nEma **dOgovora**/*. These examples show that not only is rhyme employed in proverbs which are also otherwise marked by syntactic parallelism, i.e., bipartite structure, but that in some single clause structures rhyme imposes a binary segmentation similar to that which exists in bipartite proverbs. This happens even in a proverb consisting only of subject and predicate, e.g., Sb 66 */**GramAtika**/ dRvena **mOtika**/*. Perhaps rhyme here co-occurs with pause, which, as a syntactic device, serves as an invitation for rhyme, a marker signaling to the speaker that rhyme suits that point.

2.7.6 Multiple rhyme

The terms double rhyme and triple rhyme are sometimes in literature used in reference to identity or resemblance of terminal sounds in a pair of words or a set of three words, respectively[24]. Since two words with terminal homophony are the necessary minimum for (talking about) rhyme, such use of the terms double/triple rhyme misleadingly suggests that what is meant is two/three pairs (or multiple sets) of rhyming words. To avoid any such confusion, and also to indicate variations in the complexity of multiple rhyme, I distinguish rhyme in three or more words from double, triple or quadruple rhyming pairs.

Multiple rhyme occurs in sequences of as many as eight words.

It is particularly prominent in Russ, where three rhyming words are found in 18 proverbs, e.g., 331 */**PopostIs, pomolIs**, dA i f pUt' **soberIs**/*, some

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[24]Such use of these terms may be seen, for instance, in Levin 1964:9-10.

others: 25, 119, 186, 267 and 394; and four rhyming words in five proverbs (15, 83, 167, 195 and 357). Quite unusual are also two paronomastic homoioteleutons, Russ 128 and 257, with seven and eight rhyming words, respectively.

In Sb multiple rhyme occurs in three rhyming words in ten proverbs, 32 /*BOlje* ***zlAto*** *i* ***pOizderato*** *Nego srEbro Iz nova* ***kOvato***/, as well as 51, 134, 266, 276, 314, 315, 335, 474 and 478; and in four rhyming words in 140, 180, and, involving word repetition, in 91 and 267.

Multiple rhyming pairs can be double or triple. The former occur in 73 Russ proverbs, the latter in twelve. These proverbs typically belong to one of the patterns of parallelism and contrast, which are discussed in 4.8. Some examples are: 88 /***ČevO*** *ne* ***poIš:eš***, ***tovO*** *ne* ***sYš:eš***/, 349 /***JAko*** *že* ***blagoslovl'Aeca***, ***tAko*** *i* ***krEstica***/ and (triple pairs) 324, 332 and 477.

In double rhyming pairs in the same proverb multiple rhyme is found in Sb in fewer than half the number in Russ, in 34 proverbs, e.g., 106 /*ĐE su* ***kOla mUdrosti***, *tU su* ***dvOja lUdosti***/, as well as, e.g., in 130, 213, 257, 350 or 480; and in triple pairs in two instances, 441 and 449.

Multiple rhyme is usually homoioteleuton (e. g., Russ 83, 195, or 414 above), and often acoustically results in paronomasia, especially in as short a proverb as is, for instance, Russ 452, with rhyme in the three adverbials: /*VmEste* ***tOšno***, *a* ***rOzno skUšno***/, or, for instance, when it is involved in the overall assonance of stressed /o/, and unstressed /a/ in non-rhyming words, in Russ 414 /*TOl'ko u* ***mOlotca*** *i* ***zOlotca***, *štO* ***pUgofka Olofca***/.

In Russ, homoioteleuton often occurs in reflexive verbs: Russ 474 /*XodI — ne* ***šatAjs'a***, *govorI — ne* ***zaikAjs'a***, *jEš — ne* ***ob`jedAjs'a***, *stOj — ne* ***kačAjs'a***/.

2.7.7 Rhyme, its functions in the proverb, and other devices of repetition

The analysis of rhyme with respect to its role in the proverb reveals three functions as the most prominent: creation of parallelism, rhythm, and euphony or phonological likeness. The already mentioned previous study of rhyme in Russian proverbs (Levin 1964) points out, however, a function that, in one respect, contradicts the conclusions reached in this thesis.

Levin bases the principal argument of his thesis (for bipartiteness as a feature of all Russian proverbs) on the role of "rhyme as a device of division"

(1964:128). However, leaving aside the issue of bipartiteness at this point, this view of rhyme as a divisive device is opposed by the view that cohesion is a prominent discourse role of rhyme as a structural relationship and stylistic choice (Brown and Yule 1983:193).

The cohesive quality of rhyme is self-evident, in the first instance, from the fact that rhyme means either a phonological identity or similarity of terminal sequences, that is, their identity or likeness. Furthermore, rhyme normally appears in end-words of the propositions, hence as a form of parallelism. It is perhaps the bipartite parallelism of a proverb with two propositions that is misleading in understanding the role of rhyme. Euphony and parallelism, however, do not make rhyme a device of division among the propositions; they rather mark the propositions as mutually co-dependable (and often also structurally co-measurable), underlining the oneness of the structure they belong to.

Vuk's capitalization of the initial words of segments in some Sb proverbs shows that he noticed the segmentation based on parallelism in these proverbs. Although Vuk obviously uses capital letters to mark verses as he saw them (or knew them, in the instance of the decasyllabic ones), he in fact marked inter-propositional rhyme, thus treating propositions in a single verse/clause as two verses, e.g., in Sb 91. /*Do svetoga Luke — Kuđ ti drago ruke, A od svetog Luke — Tur' u njedra ruke*/. This indicates that rhyme, as well as metric parallelism, is an important device upon which decoding, that is, perception of an utterance as a verse relies.

As has been observed, "the notion of verse implies the indispensable presence of a certain specific, *ad hoc* organization of the verbal sound matter" (Jakobson and Waugh 1979:215). The proverb with rhyme in end-words and identity or similarity of syntactic structure of the two propositions becomes a tensely organized structure marked by minimal requirement of a literary text. Rhyme as a form of parallelism, and parallelism at other levels, are among the most important structural features the proverb utilizes to attract attention, persuade and be easily memorized.

Rhyme is importantly related with another, semantic, characteristic which has already often been noted in the analysis. Quite often the words found to rhyme either themselves contrast semantically, or are a constituent in larger semantically contrasted structures. Such contrast is made salient by structural parallelism or symmetry. The parallelism between the two words is

established not only in rhyme but also through grammatical repetition, such as repetition of the same part of speech, and often of certain grammatical properties of the two words, such as case and number, or tense and person.

Thus, the saliency of rhyme makes the contrast, as a basic semantic frame in the proverb, more prominent.

Both functions, as well as manifestation of all the just mentioned associations of combinative devices of repetition are seen, for example, in Russ 22 /***BOgu-to s pErst, a č'Ortu-to s pEst***/, and in most other cited examples.

Rhyme shows two types of association with other devices of repetition, each performing a distinctive function. The first one manifests itself at the phonological level, as a mutual creation of a general likeness of sounds, through homophony and euphony, in which rhyme is most closely associated with alliteration, assonance and word repetition. The second one is a discourse function and can be seen, on the one hand, in a creation of balance and cohesion in a parallel bipartite structure, and in a formal support for semantic contrast on the other. In this latter discourse function, rhyme is most often associated with syntactic parallelism and alliteration. The fact that most rhymes are approximate rather than full, indicates that rhyme in proverbial discourse is primarily a device of the latter function. Needless to say, full rhyme performs the same function of the cohesive underlining of a parallel structure.

The similarity or identity of the functions of rhyme and of other devices of repetition corresponds to the formal similarity and grammatical parallelism of these devices.

Especially in Russ, in which it is often in the first place the identity of a stressed final vowel (most often /o/ or /a/) that links two or more words to one another, rhyme and assonance become one and the same device of repetition, e.g., Russ 148 /***KtO dobrO tvorIt, tovO zlO ne vredIt***/. Instances of assonance and rhyme are kept apart in the data by the means of the following criteria: if there is an identity of sounds other than the stressed vowels in a proverb, and/or if the identical stressed vowels do not fit the definition of one of the patterns of assonance as discussed in 2.2.2, then it is counted as rhyme. However, since in the identity of a stressed final vowel, such as in Russ 148 above, there is no difference between rhyme and assonance, I count it as rhyme if it occurs simultaneously with another rhyming word-pair. This

is done in order to emphasize the fact that two-fold rhyming word-pairs are common in the corpus. On the other hand, if the stressed vowels in rhyming words are at the same time either part of a longer sequence of identical stressed vowels, e.g., Russ 73, or of two such parallel sequences (e.g., Russ 148), they are also counted as assonance.

Word repetition is not counted as rhyme in this analysis, since it involves two or more distinctive words, e.g., Russ 457. It needs to be pointed out, however, that in some instances of approximate word repetition (usually involving a change of prefix, or negative derivation) rhyme and word repetition overlap, as in Russ 100 /*ŠtO ni naživ'Oš, tO i proživ'Oš*/, 215, 405, 427, Sb 143 /*Iz rOpstva Ikad a iz grOba nIkad*/, 200 or 377. Russ 425 is a two-fold occurrence of the this overlapping /*U š:asIIvovo umirAet nEdruk, u bešš:Asnovo drUk*/.

Rhyme and word repetition are also often closely associated in bipartite proverbs with correlative, contrastive or cause-consequential relationship between two clauses, e.g., Russ 386 /*SkotA ne deržAt', i uskOt'ja ne vidAt'*/, in which the expression of cause-effect relationship between the two predications related to contrasted subjects results in the use of the infinitives with the identity of terminal sounds.

Another characteristic association of rhyme and word repetition takes place when a negative particle or preposition precede each rhyming end-word, e.g., Russ 386; another variety is found in the proverbs with rhyming words preceded by identical final sound, e.g., Russ 380. The occurrence of such combinative devices of repetition is usually associated with bipartiteness and syntactic parallelism, or symmetry, between the propositions.

In addition to rhyme and assonance of stressed vowels, sometimes a mere identity of the final consonant, especially in parallel and/or contrastive, or just symmetrical words (Russ 392), contributes to phonological likeness and parallelism: e.g., /j/ in the masculine adjectives in Russ 388 /*SlepOj xOt' Oščup'ju, dA brodIt*/; *a zr'A i zr'Ačij spotykAeca*/, 397, 399; /t/ in present tense: Russ 412; or in both adjectives and verbs, as in Russ 437 /*V dObryj čAs mOlvit', f xudOj promolčAt'*/.

A result of such simultaneous repetition of multiple devices of repetition is felt in a mutual enhancement of their saliency, and ultimately in the intensity of secondary modeling of the overall structure of the proverb.

Euphony in the proverbs with rhyme is enhanced by repetition of other phonological devices, and by word repetition.

In sum, Russ rhyme is more often vocalic than consonantal, and typically full rather than near, while Sb rhyme is typically vocalic and near. While rhyme is more frequent in Russ than in Sb, the importance of rhyme in the proverb may best be described with a negative statement: the proverb is seldom without rhyme. In Russ, for instance, there are 347 proverbs with rhyme, in which 978 words are involved in rhyme; therefore on average 2.8 words rhyme per proverb. These data are a curious abstraction, but they are the best indication of the overall prominence of rhyme.

2.8 Sample analyses

In this section I analyze one Russ and one Sb proverb, in order to illustrate how the repetition of phonological devices relates to other devices of repetition.

It has already been pointed out in this chapter that, besides phonological repetition, often repetition at other levels occurs in the same proverb. There are proverbs in which, in addition to multiple sound and word repetition, most, if not all, other devices of repetition can be found, and such proverbs usually belong to a recognizable pattern.

Such an example in Russ is 258 */Ne tO stOja prostojAt', ne tO sId'a prosidEt', ne tO l'Oža proležAt'/*.

What is noticed first is the triple, closed and approximate end-rhyme and the tristich segmentation of the structure. Rhyme is a homoioteleuton, the result of repetition of the same verbal category (infinitive).

At the phonological level, we further notice alliteration in the initial consonants in the end-words, as well as in *stoja* and *sid'ja*. Alliteration is however only a part of the general parallelism of the sequences of consonants in the three verses. Parallelism is countered by contrast (which occurs precisely because there is parallelism as its background): instead of the /s/ in the final two words of verse one and verse two, /l/ occurs in verse three. Contrast in consonants in the same two-word sequence is also found between verse one /j - j/, verse two /d - d/ and verse three /ž - ž/.

The vowels are also engaged in a similar interweaving of parallelism and contrast. In the stressed vowels, the dominant feature is the assonance of

/o/, accompanied by assonantial parallelism of the rhyming stressed /a/. In opposition to the associations of verses in consonantal contrast, it is now the initial and the final verse that show parallelism in the sequences of stressed vowels, creating thus a kind of frame for the analogous contrastive sequence in the medial verse: [o/o/a//o/**i**/**e**//o/o/a]. Both of the two contrastive stressed vowels are opposed to their counterparts in the analogous (parallelism) positions in the other two verses in the same two features: /i/ is high and front vs. /o/, mid and back; /e/ is mid and front vs. /a/, low and non-front. Similar, only more intricate, relationships are found in a comparison of sequences that include both stressed and reduced vowels: [ɪ/o/**o**-ə/ə-ʌ-**a**//ɪ/o/**i**-ə/ə-ɪ-**e**//ɪ/o/o-ə/ə-ɪ-a].

The overall effect of the sound repetition is a paronomastic phonological structure, which constitutes only one of several layers of the parallel sameness of the three segments in the proverb.

Paronomasia primarily stems, on the one hand, from word, stem and prefix repetition, and from repetition of grammatical desinences in the two verbal forms, on the other. In addition, it is helped by the identity of the initial consonants in the two roots *sid-* and *stoj-*.

Grammatical sameness and simplicity comes from the use of only four word classes: negative particle, demonstrative pronoun, present participle active (gerund) and infinitive. The grammatical sameness of the structure is amplified by the word, stem and desinence repetition.

An important device in generating two distinctive rhythms, one within the verses, another in their succession, is the syllabic length of stress units. The progressive lengthening of stress units creates a rising rhythm, while the isosyllabic meter of the three verses results in a calm rhythmic motion of the verses, adding another layer to their overall parallelism.

The rhythmic motion is further embodied in the successive interchanging of the ascending and descending lining up — in terms of relative acoustical strength — of vowels in stress units in dependence on stress position. There are three stress units in each of the three clauses, in the ascending-descending-ascending succession. This motion stops at the end of each clause, contributing thus to the overall parallelism between the three segments of the proverb. In addition, different compositions of stressed vowels (secondary stress in the first unit, primary in the other two) with unstressed, i.e., reduced vowels (immediately preceding stress in the first

unit, post-stress in the second unit, and distant pre-stress followed by immediately preceding stress) are found in each of the stress units. The stress units are contrasted in this respect within each verse, while repetition of the composition in the verses contributes to the parallelism of the latter. The contrast is especially salient between the second (disyllabic) and the third (trisyllabic) stress unit in each clause or verse. On the other hand, parallelism between the verses is complete between the first and the third, since they also have identical sequences of vowels.

As a result of repetition of multiple interdependent devices at different linguistic levels, this proverb displays a balance of multi-layer parallelism and contrast. It is a good example of a semantic-syntactic pattern that I term the triple formula, and discuss in 4.9 in Chapter IV.

A proverb with a bipartite structure, representing one of the typical bipartite patterns — marked by the saliency of semantic contrast and syntactic parallelism (see 4.9) — is Sb 363, a distich in the symmetrical decasyllable form: */POđi za stAra, pOđi za cAra; pOđi za mlAda, pOđi za vrAga/*, i.e., 'Marry an old man, marry a tsar; marry a young man, marry a devil'.

In this proverb, consisting of four juxtaposed clauses — which twice repeat a cause-consequence link, between the first and the second, and between the third and the fourth — all the elements, at all linguistic levels, are employed in modeling a harmonious rhythmic movement as a direct result of a complex multi-level repetition.

At the phonological level, there is a double parallelism in the repetition of identical vowel structure in the two accentual units in each of the four clauses: [o-i, a-a-a/o-i, a-a-a//o-i, a-a-a/o-i, a-a-a], which at the same time creates a sequential recurrence of assonance, and results both in rhythmic and musical qualities. The repetition of accent tone and length among the end-words of the first two, and of accent length among the end-words of the last two, clauses contributes to the likeness of internal rhyme and near-rhyme within the two propositions, respectively. In addition, all four end-words rhyme in *a* as the nucleus of both syllables. In all four clauses, there is not only a syllable-per-word repetition (2-1-2/2-1-2//2-1-2/2-1-2), but also an accentual unit syllabic meter repetition (2-3/2-3//2-3/2-3), as well as metric parallelism among the propositions.

Word repetition carried by the initial construction (*pođi + za*) in all four clauses consequentially results in repetition, and parallelism, of word class, tense, aspect and case.

Multiple parallelism is further found among the first two, and among the last two clauses, as well as among the two propositions, which each comprise two identical clause sequences. This parallelism is embodied in the a-b, a-b sequential order in which the contrasting semantics and the same word class, case and number of the only word that varies in each clause are repeated. The first clause introduces cause by the adjective in acc. sg. (*Pođi za stara)*, the second, main clause, expresses the consequence by the noun in acc. sg. (*pođi za cara)*, and then this adjective-noun pattern is repeated, along with the same kind of (semantic-syntactic) clause subordination, in the third and the fourth clause. In addition, the short adjectival form and the same noun class are in a double grammatical class repetition, as well as a double semantic contrast, *stara — mlada; cara — vraga*. The absence of conjunctions aids the perfect parallelism at the syllabic, metric, accentual and syntactic levels. This proverb is thus a very good example of how repetition of other devices can accompany and result from word repetition, seen in this case in a double multiple repetition of *pođi za*.

The sample analyses in this section illustrate a point that needs to be made with respect to various classifications of devices of repetition and patterns of repetition, as well as distinctions among linguistic levels that are maintained in this study. Such a segmentation of the analysis in the thesis is possibly misleading, for it may suggest that occurrences of repetition are as a rule unidimensional. In fact, it is the opposite that is seen in most proverbs in the corpus that display repetition. Not only are the devices of repetition at different levels intermingled, but they also result from one another.

2.9 Summary

Contrary to some previous reports that the incidence of assonance in Russian proverbs is insignificant (Guershoon 1941:94), the data and analysis in this chapter demonstrated that in fact assonance of the stressed vowels has a rather prominent role both in Russ and Sb, particularly in the modeling of parallelism and rhythm, but also in the creation of euphony and overall likeness of the structure.

The repetition of initial consonants, even if minimal, is in itself a kind of rhyme, whether occurring in contiguous or in parallel words. This fact already satisfies a minimal condition for it to be considered as alliteration. What ensures a more certain decoding of alliteration in perception, however, are certain structural characteristics of the given proverb. Minimal alliteration is, therefore, highly context-dependent, and its interpretation as alliteration is always conditional. The effect of the contiguous minimal alliteration stems from the brevity of the proverb and the juxtaposition of the words, or the proximity of the two stressed words (when a clitic separates them). The effect of parallel minimal initial alliteration, as has been seen in the analysis, is based primarily on the various kinds of parallelism of words that are at the same time semantically contrastive. In about a third of the proverbs in which it occurs, it also benefits from the intensity of the initial syllable based on the stress. The effect of alliteration is further intensified when the alliterative word-pairs also rhyme, or when the words repeat the same stressed vowel, or when both features are found together. Russ 417 and 475 are good examples of an interweaving repetition of several features within and across the proposition-boundary: */TOlst, dA prOst; tOnok, dA zvOnok*, and *XorOš sOlot, xorošO i smOlot/*. Some other examples are in Russ: 406, 419, 443, 498.

The analysis in this chapter has shown that the kind of structural context which allows for a perception of minimal alliteration as a form of repetition is found in a fairly large number of proverbs in both Russ and Sb.

It has also been emphasized that alliteration most often occurs as only one of several devices of repetition: a tendency of association of rhyme, syntactic parallelism, grammatical form repetition, lexical repetition and word-initial alliteration is particularly strong.

Alliteration and brevity of the proverb combine to yield an interesting consonantal uniformity of word-beginnings: three or fewer different initial consonants are a mark of all the words in a proverb (e. g., Russ 3, 39, 385, Sb 214, 296, 317); this feature occurs in about 10% of Russ proverbs and 15% of Sb proverbs.

Assonance, alliteration and rhyme, which are in literary studies all forms of the figure of repetition, were here, for methodological reasons, analyzed separately. In addition to finding a considerable frequency of occurrence of these devices in the corpus, the analysis also pointed out that

they have much in common. They are marked by phonological and functional similarity and mutual co-occurrence. Their simultaneous occurrence, in particular combinative occurrence of assonance and rhyme, or alliteration and assonance, in an utterance of such brevity as the proverb is, makes the commonness of their function in the proverb transparent.

The functions of repetition of phonological devices are best seen through the functions of rhyme, the most frequent and the most salient device, for it is frequently noticed in the analysis that repetition of various phonological devices results in essentially the same effect as rhyme typically does.

The one function that unveiled itself to immediate perception is the phonological **sameness** or **likeness** of units, which usually occupy the same syntactic position in the two co-occurring propositions. Whether this likeness results merely in parallelism or symmetry of sounds, or in over-encompassing similarity of sound (euphony, paronomasia), repetition of phonological devices creates likeness which binds the units into a tightly woven structure. Thus, it is seen that phonological repetition also has important discourse functions. Discourse functions are manifested, in the first instance, in the strengthening of cohesion, and in creating a rhythmic and **musical quality** in the structure.

Perhaps the most important supra-segmental overall structural quality modelled in the interplay of phonological and other devices of repetition is rhythm. The evidence shows that the proverb, although in general marked by pronounced brevity, is often characterized by a rhythmically organized structure, due to prominence of several devices of repetition.

The first and most obvious source of rhythm is rhyme.

What is notable is rhythmic rhyming of the final vowel, especially in disyllabic words in Sb, or in homoioteleuton in Russ, e.g., in reflexive present tense verbs. It is most often repetition of the final *-a*, in association with the repetition of disyllabic words, effecting a harmonious succession of stressed words in proverbs which are in general characterized by pronounced sound-repetition.

Another important source of rhythm is repetition of isosyllabic length. Two kinds of syllabic units are found in such successive lining up with rhythmic effect: stressed words in particular, and stress units. The analysis concentrated on the former. A simple form of syllabic rhythm is found to

consist in successive repetition of isosyllabic words, usually disyllables, creating a harmonious, single beat rhythm, in realization of a fulfilled expectation. A more complex, dynamic rhythm, is found in either a) repetition of alternating length, disyllables and trisyllables in particular, or b) a shift in length, which often produces syllabic parallelism between propositions, or the effect of a betrayed expectation.

A third source of rhythm, and parallelism, are, in particular, word-initial alliteration and assonance of stressed vowels.

It has been further established in this chapter that not only rhyme, alliteration, assonance and syllabic length, but also such 'units' as consonant-vowel patterns often occur as manifestations of a general modeling principle that could be defined as creation of markedness through salient co-measurability of like units in intensively cohesive brevity.

2.10 For further study

The rhythmic organization of stress units was in this study given some attention in relation to the assonance of stressed vowels and word syllable length repetition. A thorough analysis of stress units, particularly in Sb, where it can be related to distribution of accents (intonation and length), is likely to give interesting results, especially in the proverbs which are otherwise marked by predominating features such as parallelism.

Post-accentual length is an important prosodic factor in the Serbian language. Since vowel length implies a vowel prominence, a further study of assonance may focus on both accented and long unaccented vowels.

One possibility for further investigation of alliteration is to describe in more detail the alliteration that occurs in non-initial syllables.

As another possibility, a thorough concordance analysis could be conducted to further characterize the nature of phonological likeness (and resonance) in the discourse in terms of repetition in individual proverbs and of discourse recurrence of sounds in particular consonantal classes (e.g., all bilabials, fricatives, or liquids, etc., could be each treated as a single entity, i.e., a class according to manner of articulation). It would, however, be methodologically more appropriate to conduct further studies of this kind for the given language as a whole, or for the standard idiom, first and subsequently for various discourse types.

Chapter III

Lexical Repetition

3.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses repetition of lexical items at two levels: a) at the level of an individual proverb, and b) at the level of proverbial discourse, that is the level of each of the two corpora as a whole.

A further clarification of the term 'corpus' in relation to 'vocabulary' is needed in this chapter: 'corpus' refers to all the words in the 500 proverbs in Russ and 500 proverbs in Sb, i.e., including the identical, recurring forms; 'vocabulary' means 'word index', i.e., the set of words with distinctive forms.

The objectives of this chapter are: 1) to identify lexical classes and individual words in the corpus that are relevant to repetition, 2) to discuss the patterns and the extent of lexical repetition, and 3) to relate the findings about lexical repetition to the lexical structure of proverbial discourse.

My basic hypotheses with regard to lexical repetition are the following: firstly, lexical repetition plays a role both in a number of individual proverbs and in the discourse; secondly, lexical repetition is more prominent at the discourse level than at the level of the individual proverb; and thirdly, lexical repetition does not have a particularly prominent role at either of the two levels. In other words, I expect to find lexical repetition in proverbs, although not as one of the primary devices of repetition. The hypotheses are based on the fact that the proverb is normally a short sentence-long text.

3.2 A previous study of lexical repetition in Russ

Despite these empirically apparent reasons for skepticism with regard to the relevance of lexical items for repetition, it is still a curious case that in the most extensive description of repetition in Russian proverbs to date (Levin 1964), lexical repetition is given very little attention. Only polyptoton in nouns is described in a section titled "Repetition of the same word in different categories" (1964:36-44), and several other examples of word repetition "characterized by complete identity" are noted in a discussion of "Identity of structure" (1964:36). Elsewhere, it is mentioned in passing. An

inspection of his corpus, however, reveals that word repetition occurs in more than 10% of the proverbs analyzed.

What might offer an explanation for this omission is the following fundamental distinction made by Jakobson: "Despite some borderline, transitional formations, there is in language a definite, clear-cut discrimination between these two classes of expressed concepts — material and relational — or, in more technical terms, between the lexical and grammatical aspects of language" (1981b: 122). According to this dichotomy in Jakobson's approach to the literary use of language, the role of the lexical level in discourse is, understandably, more prominent in the poetic world of **images**, while the role of grammatical categories and structures is more important in the poetic **form**. It was perhaps on the basis of this understanding that the lexical level does not play a significant role in a type of discourse such as the proverbial one, that in a thesis written by a student of Jakobson's lexical repetition received no attention. In addition to this possibility, another explanation for this lack of interest in lexical repetition may lie in the fact that to find word repetition in one of the shortest discourse types does indeed a priori seem an unlikely possibility. In Levin 1964, repetition in Russian proverbs is studied from the perspective of grammar.

A preliminary survey of the use of proverbial vocabulary shows two tendencies that justify the attention given to it in this study: first, in a number of proverbs various words are found in repetition, and, second, in the corpora as a whole certain words are favored over others, and thus seem not only to be relatively frequent in proverbial discourse but also to be discourse-specific. The extent of both of these two dimensions of lexical repetition, as well as its patterns at both levels, are therefore considered in this chapter.

Before attempting an analysis of lexical repetition, I first briefly present, as a structural background for my considerations, a brief, primarily quantitative, description of the lexical structure of proverbs as found in the two parts of my corpus.

3.3 Lexical structure of the corpora — a brief description

This chapter, as well as the thesis in general, often relies on quantitative measure as an empirical expression of repetition and of relationships among the examined elements of linguistic structure. This quantitative aspect of repetition in this chapter is primarily embodied in word form or word class frequencies. Interpreting a frequency figure fully, however, due to its relative nature, requires establishing a relation to something other than the interpreted measure. For this reason in particular, I first present some basic statistics of my corpus. This kind of identification of the elementary linguistic structure of the corpus should prove to be useful in evaluating frequency counts, percentages and other numerical measures when they are offered as a measure of repetition in proverbial discourse.

The most obvious structural property to which especially lexical repetition could be related is length, both of the corpus and of the proverbs. Being a one-sentence text, the proverb allows its length to be expressed in terms of number of words and clauses.

Information on the number of words per individual proverb is coded under the variable names Word and Clause, whereby what is understood by separate 'words' is lexical units separated from one another by spaces, while the number of clauses is based on the number of predications. Frequency statistics for the variable Word are described below. The variable Clause is presented in Chapter IV (4.4).

The Russ and Sb corpora, five hundred proverbs each, consist of 3160 and 3328 words, respectively. The total numbers of words in the two corpora differ from one another by about 5%.

The average number of words per proverb is 6.3 in Russ, and 6.7 in Sb. The highest number of proverbs falling within a single size, 5 words per proverb, is 114 or 22.8% in Russ and 88 or 17.6% in Sb. Thus, the most preferred length in both corpora is 5 words. More telling than these, however, might be the following figures revealing further regularities in the corpora. In Russ, proverbs having 4, 5, 6, 7 or 8, and in Sb proverbs having 4, 5, 6, 7, 8 or 9 words, make up 10 percent or more of the corpus in each of these values. About 98% of proverbs in either corpus have 12 or fewer words. Furthermore, Russ proverbs more than Sb are clustered around the mean length, with

those consisting of 5, 6 or 7 words numbering 289 or 57.8% in Russ, and 246 or 49.2% in Sb.

Although a single-word statement both in Russian and Serbian is syntactically possible (such as: *Molčat'*, for instance), no one-word proverb is found in my corpora. Therefore, the minimum length proverb consists of two words. There are three such proverbs in the Sb corpus and none in the Russ. In the Russ corpus, the shortest proverbs consist of three words, the number found in 28 instances. The maximum length proverb has 26 words in the Russ and 17 words in the Sb corpus. The former number is quite accidental, for only one such proverb is found in the Russ data. All the remaining Russ proverbs have 17 words or fewer.

Even though all these data contribute to the description of the scope of lexical length, the most relevant information about the length of the proverb is offered by the statistics on the preferred lexical length given above. Curiously parallel to the limit in number of syllables per word (fewer than seven both in Russ and Sb), the inversely proportionate relationship between length and frequency has a rising path until the number of words per proverb reaches 5/6, when it assumes a falling path. A question arises whether these regularities are yet another manifestation of a puzzling universal link between human perception and number seven, "plus or minus two": "And finally, what about the magical number seven? What about the seven-point rating scale, the seven categories for absolute judgment, the seven objects in the span of attention, and the seven digits in the span of immediate memory?" (Miller 1956:96).[25]

As for how Russ and Sb proverbs compare with each other in this respect, besides the larger number of words in the Russ corpus, there seem to be only two important differences between the Russ and Sb corpora with respect to the lexical length of individual proverbs. These are the 5.2% higher frequency of proverbs in Russ with the 'preferred' length (of 5 words), and the fact that Russ proverbs cluster around the mean more often than the Sb, 57.8% vs. 49.2%.

A comprehensive illustration of the frequency of the number of words per proverb can be seen in the following two bar-charts.

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[25]Quoted from Jakobson 1981:200.

Chart 3.1: Frequency of the number of words in a Russian proverb

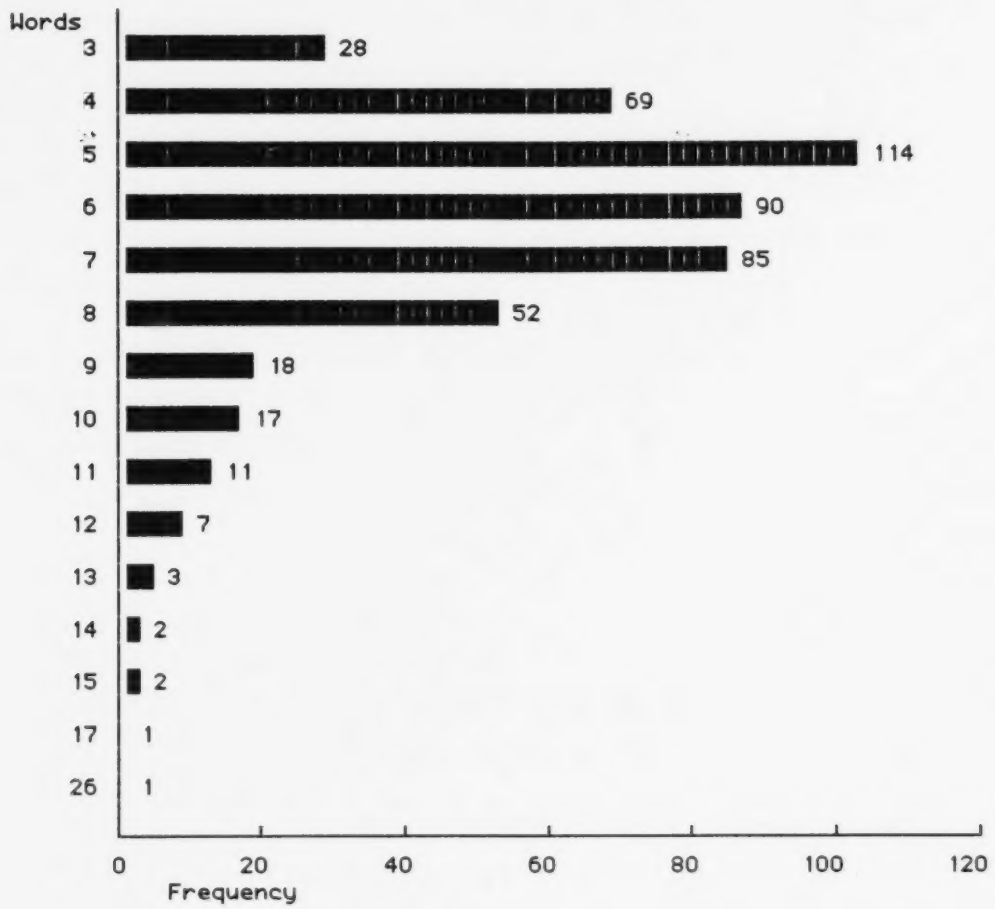
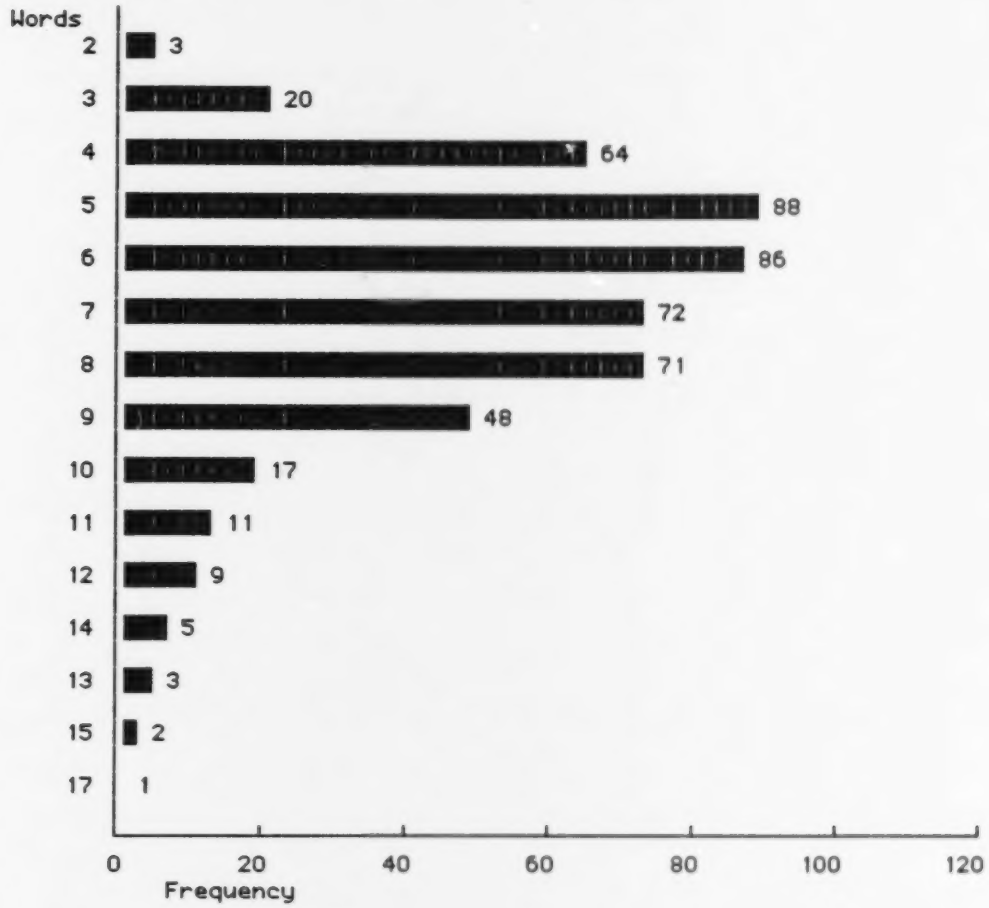


Chart 3.2: Frequency of the number of words in a Serbian proverb



3.4 Repetition in individual proverbs

In this section I examine formal and categorial varieties, or patterns, of lexical repetition, and discuss the extent of the occurrence of the most salient ones. The focus is first on the forms in which repetition occurs, while the extent to which these patterns are found in the corpora is the subject of the latter part of this section. In this first part only the extent of the most important variations **within** a given pattern is a concern. For the sake of an orderly discussion, the examination is centered around the word classes to which such words belong.

A preliminary survey shows that verbs, nouns, adjectives, pronouns and prepositions are the classes particularly frequent in word repetition, and

therefore it is these classes that I focus on in this chapter. Verbs and nouns are described in more detail and, next, attention is paid to adjectives, pronouns, and prepositions. In addition, repetition of negation merits special attention. Adverbs and conjunctions, and especially the latter, are also present in both corpora, but are not frequently repeated; they are therefore given only minor attention.

What needs to be discovered in the first place is whether there are any occurrences of a single full repetition of a word, that is one in which all the grammatical properties of the form are repeated. It does indeed occur, but it will be shown below that there are several other patterns, some of which are likely more salient than this one.

3.4.1 Full repetition of a verb or a noun in identical form

The first and the most characteristic feature of Sb proverbs in which the verb is repeated in exactly the same form, involving repetition of tense, aspect, person and number, is that in two thirds of such cases it is an enclitic form of *jesam* (usually *je*, in the affirmative form, with one exception of *nije*), used as copula in a nominal predicate, as in 343: *Onaj mi je brat koji mi je dobru rad*. Proverbs with repetition of *je* share with the remaining one third of this group in Sb, that is, with those having a complete repetition of a full-meaning verb, two salient features: firstly, an almost complete absence of negation, and secondly, presence of repetition within some other word class, this latter found in more than half of such cases. In Sb 21, for example, in addition to the verb, a demonstrative and a relative pronoun are repeated: *Blago onom koga sreća hrani, a teško onom koga snaga hrani*. Repetition of a unique predicate expressed by adjective-adverb forms *blago* and *teško* (which otherwise in Sb may alternatively be followed by *li je*) is also found in this proverb.

In Russ all occurrences of a single complete verb repetition are among full-meaning verbs, and in this contrast with such cases in Sb. This is due to the fact that Russ does not use the equivalent of Sb *jesam* but instead expresses the same type of predication with a zero-form of the verb. (Russ proverbs repeating such a predicate will be the subject of Chapter IV.) Some examples are: 296 *Odna beda ne nadokučit, a nadokučit, tak proučit*, and 375 *Serdis' ne serdis', a lučše pokoris'*. As in Sb, such verbs are found in present

tense or imperative, but in Russ also in future and infinitive. Unlike Sb, negation preceding the first occurring verb is common, usually in imperatives, for example in 233 *Ne bud' izroden, a bud' prigoden* or 263 *Ne učis' pivo pit', učis' solod rastit'*. Verbal repetition is sometimes aided by repetition of words of other classes, but less often than in Sb. A proverb may contain several other words in repetition, as in Russ 269, in which the final word, or two words, are three times successively repeated in the following clause, thus repeating eight words with no alteration of the form: *Ne vo vs'akoj tuče grom; a i grom, da ne gr'anet; a i gr'anet, da ne po nas; a i po nas — avos' opalit, ne ub'et*. In this example notable is the alliterative identity of the voiced initial consonant cluster in the repeated noun and verb, which contributes to the overall paronomastic structure, and contrasts with other, mostly voiceless, consonants in the proverb.

Paronomasia is probably the most salient effect of the full (and the approximate; see below) verb and noun repetition on phonological structure. As in the just cited Russ examples of full verb repetition, a general likeness of sound as a direct consequence of noun repetition associated with repetition of phonological devices, paronomasia is found in almost all proverbs with full and approximate noun repetition.

Peculiar for combined full and/or approximate verb and noun repetition is a paronomasia involving a sound contrast, especially in those proverbs with multiple full repetition. As in Russ 269 cited above, it can be seen, for instance, in Russ 399 *Sud pravyj krivogo dela ne vypravit a krivoj sud pravoe skrivit*, in the repetition of the stems *prav-* and *kriv-* (bilabial, front /p/ vs. velar, back /k/ and low /a/ vs. high /i/), as well as in 7, 291, 304, 412, 416, 455, 458, 473 and 498; in Sb 393 *Reci bobu: bob, a popu: pop*, and also 27, 40, 57, 78, 134, 249, 266, 276, 324, 346, 409, 416 and 448. Multiple full noun repetition creates a two-fold, or a multiple, polyptoton of usually juxtaposed nouns, in Russ 6, 7, 455 and Sb 393.

Those phonological effects are the most salient that are associated with full noun repetition, which is the least frequent and interesting pattern of repetition in the word class.

With the exception of the juxtaposed nouns in polyptoton and the role in the creation of paronomasia, full noun repetition contrasts with approximate noun repetition, primarily in having a rather different role in the organization of the structure.

3.4.2 Approximate or incomplete verb or noun repetition

Besides the full, or exact repetition just described above, there is another pattern, more diverse in variation and more interesting, in which both verb and noun repetition occur. It is an incomplete repetition in which the appearances of the word involved differ in one or more formal or grammatical properties.

The predominant variety within this pattern in Russ is the one based on a change or introduction of a prefix in the second occurring verb. In Sb, all such proverbs utilize prefixation as a means of varying the verbal form. Occurrence of negative particle *ni* in *je(sam)* in five instances has essentially the same effect, since both prefix and *ni* are used in creation of contrast/antithesis, e.g., *gradi — razgradi* in 57 and *jesmo — nijesmo* in 71. There are different degrees of likeness between the two verbs, for some of the verbs, in addition to the prefix difference, involve further differences, in derivational or grammatical features.

Proverbs with this approximate verb repetition marked by the difference in prefix constitute the most numerous group and can be of two kinds: a) one prefixed and one non-prefixed verb and b) both verbs prefixed but with different prefixes. Proverbs with verb-pairs in which the only difference is that in one of the verbs a prefix (or negation) occurs (in Russ in the second occurring verb, in Sb in either one), are, in Russ, only two: 94 *njančit' — unjančit'* and 171 *dadut — poddadut*; and in Sb, 12 *pogine — ne gine*, 35 *poviđeti — viđeti*, 57 *gradi — razgradi*, as well as 5, 117, 118, 169, 187 and 200. The latter kind (b) is also less numerous in Russ than in Sb when the only formal difference between the verbs is the prefix, and can be illustrated with these verb-pairs: in Russ, 9 *prihodit — uhodit*, 100 *naživeš — proživeš*, 215 *naprašivajsa — otprašivajsa*, as well as 405 and 498; in Sb, 90 *dovuče — provuče*, 217 *ustane — nastane*, 476 *naseli — raseli*, as well as 8, 34, 71, 129, 135, 190, 356, 409 and 410. Noticeable in most such verb-pairs is contrastive or antithetical semantics of the prefixes.

In the Sb corpus, there are five instances of repeated verbs with the *id-* stem, and these present an interesting case. Due to the results of consonant reduction and progressive palatalization ('yotation') of /t/ and /d/ in these verbs, their stem is in most cases reduced to a syllable (in the infinitive of these verbs it has attained the status of the ending for this group), so that in

some of these proverbs the two verbs resemble one another only in the rhyming word-ending: 34 *zaći — doći*, 135 *prođe — iziđe*, 409 *S vragom došlo, s vragom i otišlo*, while in some others they also share a degree of similarity in the prefix, as in 129 *dođe — pođe*.

The most interesting regularity in Sb is found in the fact that all cases of incomplete verb repetition are based on the prefix introduction or prefix difference just described. All aspectually paired verbs in verb-pairs of the latter type are perfectives. Aspectual difference is found in only three instances of the former type, all three times with the pattern unprefixed impf. — prefixed impf., i.e., in 57 (above), 187 *pada — napada* and 200 *plaču — isplaču*. Besides this, there is just one more recurring pattern, the contrastive repetition of *je*, with a negation in the second occurrence. It was already noted above that verbal negation with a lexically independent particle *ne* is not a characteristic of Sb proverbs with exact verb repetition. Interestingly, negation that is morphologically incorporated in the verb is not rare, and thus shows up in this pattern, especially in the form of *je — nije*, as in 5, 71, 117, 118, 169, 410, but also as *neće — hoće*, as in 8: *Ako neće nećo, a ono hoće hoćo*, as well as in 190, or in the form of *ima — nema*, as in 356. The homogeneity of repetition falling only into two patterns, as exemplified above, suggests that Sb within this pattern shows a simplicity in verb repetition and thus a greater degree of likeness between the repeated verbs, as well as across this repetition paradigm, than is the case in Russ.

The above cited Sb 8 is an interesting example of two-fold approximate nominal and verbal repetition based on the same verbal root *hte-*, resulting in a play on sounds in the two syntactically parallel and semantically contrastive propositions.

The next variation, a characteristic of Russ, is seen in a group of proverbs showing a lesser degree of likeness among the verbs, e.g., Russ 317 *Pljasat' smolodu **učis'**, pod starost' ne **naučiš'sja***. This is a result of the occurrence of multiple differences, one of which usually is either prefix or verbal category, while other ones are aspect, person, or reflexive particle.

Odd cases of approximate verb repetition involve some with opposing characteristics: from a repetition with a high degree of likeness between the verbs, the only varying property being gender: 198 *sogrešil — sogrešila*, or verbal category: 264 *Ne uznav gorja, ne uznaeš' i radosti*, 234 *ne byv' — ne byt'*, to instances of an almost remote resemblance resulting both in the

difference in prefix and in secondary imperfectivization of one of the verbs: 178 and 230, *sbirat' — brat'*, and *delat' — peredelivat'*.

Approximate noun repetition, although about equally as frequent as this variety of verb repetition, shows much less variation and difference between Russ and Sb and is particularly responsible for the following two structural characteristics in a proverb.

The first one concerns the same paronomastic effect that was identified in full repetition of nouns, only in this case it is characteristically manifested in polyptoton. Polyptoton is the most prominent figure of approximate noun repetition. It is characteristically found in short proverbs, in which it has essentially the same effect on the phonological structure as the paronomastic full noun repetition does. Examples of polyptoton in Russ are 125 *Žizn' žizni rozn'*, 421 *Trut truta probivaet* and 450 *Veščˊ vešči rozn', a inuju — xotˊ brosˊ* (others are 3, 24, 95, 215, 293, 355, 363, 367, 379, 405 and 456), and in Sb 44 *Vatra vatru ne žeže* and 85 *Dok zmija zmiju ne proždere, ne može aždaha postati,* as well as 55, 117, 194, 367, 368, 419 and 436. In these examples, as well as in others, various phonological devices, particularly alliteration and repetition of the same or acoustically similar consonantal class, are noticeable.

Finally, all verbs and nouns involved in approximate repetition share a common characteristic. This general characteristic of such verb or noun-pairs is manifested in a semantic-syntactic and formal balance of likeness and difference at the same time, and reveals a deeper structural pattern, in which verbs and nouns play an important role. (Balance of repeated and distinct grammatical devices as a recurring feature of the structure of Russian proverbs is frequently mentioned in Levin 1964.) The very introduction of a prefix or negation, or change of prefix or aspect among the repeated verbs or nouns is one of the formal indications of a proverb modelled on comparison, and more precisely on **contrast**, as the basic underlying semantic structure. The correspondence between this pattern of repetition and contrast in general is direct, whether it is the opposing semantics carried by prefix(es), aspect, negation, or, occasionally, tense of repeated verbs, that actually establish contrast, or just support it when it is more saliently carried out by some other device, which may or may not be involved in repetition. This fact that word repetition plays an important role in modeling comparison and contrast is an important discovery about the relationship between word repetition and proverbial discourse structure. It shows that not only does word repetition

affect the formal structure, but that it is also reflected in the semantic structure, and even in its basic models.

3.4.3 Elliptic verb or noun repetition

This third distinctive pattern is syntactic as much as lexical, for it involves ellipsis and is thus recognizable only syntactically. It occurs in repetition of verbs in the following form: the verbal predicate of the first proposition is repeated in the second proposition in zero-form, in cases like Russ 17 *Bog l'ubit pravednika, a gospodin* [l'ubit] *jabednika,* and Sb 367 *Pop zapovijedi đaku, a đak* [zapovijedi] *crkvenjaku.* These two examples show important features of the majority of such cases, common to both Russ and Sb: firstly, the elementary structural model of a "Subject 1 (S1) — Predicate (P) — Complement 1 (C1) 'while' S2 — (P) — C2" type, secondly, use of present tense, and thirdly, conjunction /a/ as a lexical marker of this pattern.

A variation of the model which also repeats the subject in ellipsis occurs in both corpora in a variety characterized with negation and modelled after "S — not P — C 'but' (S) — (P) — C2" structure. Russ 496 *Zmeja kusaet ne dl'a sytosti, a radi lihosti* and Sb 48 *Vinograd ne ište molitve, nego motike* illustrate this variety. As in these two examples, most cases of this variety are in Russ lexically marked with *ne — a,* and in Sb with *ne/nije — nego* in the first and second proposition, respectively.

In the third common variety, the rarest of the three in Russ, the model is "better A than B", and thus the lexical markers are *lučše — čem* in Russ, as in 180: *Lučše umirat' v pole, čem [umirat'] v bab'em podole,* and *bolje/više — nego* in Sb: 50 *Više valja vjerovati očima nego [vjerovati] ušima.*

In Sb, a variety more common than this last mentioned, found in 6 proverbs, is an ellipsis of the enclitic *je* in the second clause, as in 484 *Čija je krava onog [je] i tele,* or 498 *Što je daleko od očiju, daleko [je] i od srca.* As a rule, such proverbs belong to a pattern of metonymic equalizing comparison of two ideas, and are usually marked with the use of a relative word in one clause and a demonstrative in the other. (Proverbs with approximate verb or noun repetition with the relative-demonstrative marker also belong to this pattern, e.g. Russ 100, Sb 169, 200.)

In elliptic repetition of nouns three features are noticed: the noun is the main element in an adjective/possessive pronoun + noun nominative

syntagm; it is the subject of both clauses, i.e., propositions, and the emphasis is not on the noun but rather on its determiner. Examples are, in Russ, 217 *Na svoi dolgi zabytčiki, na čužie [dolgi] pamjatčiki,* 252 *Ne rada baba povoju, rada [baba] b pokoju,* 406 *Sytyj kon' vodu vozit, toščego [konja] na podprugax poit' vodjat* and 442 *V krepostnyx delax po krepostjam, v nekrepostnyx [delax] — po rozyskam;* and Sb 5 *Ako je preša umrijeti, nije [preša] kopati,* 20 *Bježanova majka pjeva, a Stojanova [majka] plače,* 47 *Velika drveta dugo rastu, ali [velika drveta] za čas padnu.*

A related form of noun repetition can be seen in noun substitution. The substitute is normally (the enclitic form of) a personal pronoun, e.g., Russ 163 *Kto zakony pišet, tot ix i lomaet,* and Sb 43 *Budale kuće zidaju, a mudri ih kupuju.* The syntactic function of the substituted noun is normally that of object/patient.

As in the case of approximate repetition discussed above, this pattern of lexical repetition, carried out through verb or noun ellipsis, quite regularly stands in a direct link with the proverb-comparison or the proverb-contrast, as all the examples above illustrate.

A peculiarity of contrast as expressed in proverbs with elliptic repetition is relevant with regard to a diametrically opposing interpretation of ellipsis. In Levin 1964, e.g. on p. 47, word ellipsis is found to be a manifestation of avoidance of repetition. While such an interpretation, on the one hand, agrees with the noted desire for structural balance, it suggests, on the other hand, that in proverbs there is an ambivalent attitude towards repetition.

I suggest that rather than avoidance of repetition, it is the message aspect that here comes to the foreground, in a manifestation of avoidance of informational redundancy. Still, to discover that despite the tendency to repetition, proverbs also tend to avoid redundancy (and that in the case of elliptic repetition, seemingly both tendencies occur at the same time), is interesting and perhaps at a first glance puzzling. This question is important, and so deserves more attention. A further insight into the use of ellipsis in such cases might be useful at this point.

Since it is evident that the proverb relies on comparison and contrast, and this often means comparing or contrasting two aspects of the **same** concept, e.g., Sb 246 *Ljudi žito viju na lopatu, a žene na rešeto*) — which can be either a predication, as in the preceding examples, an object, or a quality —

it is interesting to see the role of the repeated word in conveying the message in such bipartite proverbs.

A look at the distribution of the old and the new information in the just cited examples for elliptic verb repetition (the theme and the rheme) reveals that the theme is normally expressed by the first proposition, while the rheme is found in the differing complement of the second predication, through which the given proverb 'makes its point'. The repetition of the predication as a part of the theme makes actual use of the verb in the surface structure of the second proposition (or clause) highly redundant. The same applies to elliptic noun repetition, in which the noun ellipsis in the second proposition is a part of the theme, expressed by the first proposition. Thus, formal condensation of the expression in the form of the ellipsis of the verb or noun is a natural result in the sentence structure. What is important, however, is that the predication or a substantive still is repeated, and so inherently is the semantics of the word, despite the zero-form of the word. Consequently the ellipsis in such examples in the proverb is both a means of condensation of expression and of repetition of a syntactic element along with its lexical semantics.

Accepting this explanation for ellipsis, however, still does not eliminate an important question regarding the instances of complete word repetition. If elimination of redundancy is found to be a regularity, why does it not work in proverbs with full word repetition? The answer can be found in the examples above: creation of a structural feature may either require, or easily find an expression in, word repetition, e.g., rhyme and metrical balance of the propositions in Russ 233 and 375, or the latter and parallelism in Russ 263. This, of course, does not block occurrence of ellipsis of another word; when there is an exact word repetition, redundancy may still be reduced by means of ellipsis in some other word-pair (e.g., the ellipsis of *beda* in Russ 296, or *delo* in Russ 399; see above).

It has been pointed out in this section, and can be seen in the examples given, that, besides verb or noun repetition, often words of other classes are also repeated in the same proverb. Repetition of other word classes is the subject of discussion in 3.4.6 below. In addition to word repetition, in most, if not all proverbs, other devices of repetition, often multiple, are found.

Mutual co-occurrence and co-dependence of devices at different levels was illustrated in the sample analyses in 2.8.

3.4.4 Frequency of verb and noun repetition

I now take a look at the repetition of nouns and verbs in their mutual relationship, examining four possible variations depending on how many nouns and verbs occur, and therefore what chance for their repetition exists, namely: 1) a proverb has more than one of both nouns and verbs, 2) a proverb has no more than one of either nouns or verbs, 3) a proverb has more than one noun but fewer than two verbs, and 4) a proverb has fewer than two nouns but more than one verb.

Among proverbs containing more than one of each nouns and verbs, 64/12.8% in Russ and 71/14.2% in Sb have neither noun nor verb repetition. When the two word classes are considered separately, no noun repetition is found in 273/54.6% Russ and 282/56.4% Sb, and no verb repetition in 161/32.2% Russ and 175/35% Sb proverbs with more than one noun or more than one verb. These figures reveal the number of proverbs in which noun and/or verb repetition **does not** occur when there are at least two instances of both or either word classes. In other words, they are perhaps the most reliable measure of the extent to which repetition of **neither** noun **nor** verb (i.e. 12.8% in Russ, 14.2% in Sb), as well as noun **or** verb (i.e. 54.6%/32.2% in Russ, 56.4%/35% in Sb), is not found in this corpus. It is interesting that in both respects the figures for Russ and Sb are fairly similar to one another. What also applies about equally to both Russ and Sb, but is more important, is the fact that the average 55.5% of proverbs with no noun repetition when there are more than one noun is much higher than the figure for the same relationship in the verb class: an average of 33.6%. The importance of the difference among the two figures is two-fold: firstly, it reveals that both in Russian and Serbian the proverb is a discourse characterized by nouns rather than verbs, and secondly, it consequentially attributes a proportionately larger importance to the percentage showing verb repetition, in both languages.

Variations in the statistics of absence of repetition of nouns and/or verbs depending on whether fewer or more than two words in either or both word classes are found in a proverb can be seen in the table below.

Table 3.1: Nouns and verbs: absence of repetition in dependence on the number of occurrences in a proverb

nouns	verbs	proverbs in Russ	proverbs in Sb
2+	2+	64	71
0 or 1	0 or 1	62	57
2+	0 or 1	179	175
0 or 1	2+	78	61
2+	0	273	282
0	2+	161	175
0 or 1	0	167	135
0	0 or 1	268	248

Overall, the Russ corpus is characterized by a greater number of proverbs in which there is no chance for repetition in either noun or verb class: (435/87% proverbs with fewer than two of either nouns or verbs) than Sb: 383/76.6% proverbs with fewer than two of either nouns or verbs, while Sb is marked by slightly more proverbs in which such a chance exists but remains unrealized: 457 Sb vs. 434 Russ. Therefore, given also that noun or verb repetition in a proverb occurs slightly more often in Russ than in Sb, noun and verb repetition is more important in the Russ proverbs than is in the Sb ones.

When interpreting the data for the two major word classes, it is worth mentioning, first, that not all proverbs in the corpora have any nouns or verbs and, second, that a rather large number of all proverbs employ only one of each word class. There is no more than a single noun in 167 or 33% Russ, and 135 or 27% Sb, and no more than a single verb in 268 or 54% Russ, and 248 or 50% Sb proverbs.

This fact is important, since, judging merely by percentages of repetition on their own, at a first glance it seems as though only a relatively small portion of proverbs involves an actual repetition of a particular noun or verb: nouns in 6.8% and 6% and verbs in 10.2% and 8.4% in Russ and Sb, respectively. Overall, the number of proverbs with any kind of repetition of a particular noun or verb, implied repetition (i.e. repetition of their zero-form in the same syntactic position) included, is not so great either:

	Proverbs in:	
	Russ	Sb
repetition of a noun in either zero or actual form	66/13.2%	83/16.6%
repetition of a verb in either zero or actual form	71/14.2%	77/15.4%

There is however, finally, a number of repetitions of the verbal position, which is not accounted for in the data for repetition of verbs presented above.

It concerns repetition of a verbal zero-form. This is a feature particularly of Russ proverbs, in the first instance as repetition of the zero-form of *est'* '(there) is', in which the second such predication is the equivalent to an ellipsis of *est'* . Proverbs with repetitions of *est'* in the meaning 'is', usually consisting of two clauses, are Russ 11 *Beg ne česten, da zdorov*, and also in 22, 42, 49, 54, 59, 63, 65-69, 91, 96, 98-9, 101-2, 116, 145, 153, 156, 186, 188, 199, 204, 235, 245, 254, 256, 270, 351, 372, 396, 417, 419, 452, 455 and 477; in the meaning 'there is': 439 and 441; and in a combination of the two meanings in 268 and 411. Presence of the non-elliptical zero-form of *est'* in both clauses indicates that the proverb is bipartite and marked by syntactic parallelism and grammatical repetition, e.g., Russ 174 *Ložka medu, bočka degtju*, or 382 *Skol'ko golov, stol'ko umov*. In Sb such instances are 24, 138, 140, 177, 178, 180, 249, 323, 332, 396, 401 and 492.

Another variety of zero-form verb repetition normally comprises rather cryptic two-clause sentences where verbs other than *est'* may be implied and where it is not always easy to identify the implied verb, such as 35 *Den' k večeru, a rabota k zavtremu*, as well as in Russ 41, 132, 164, 173, 181, 217, 260, 287-8, 321, 371, 390, 416, 442, 447, 455, 458 and Sb 11, 27, 134, 143, 157, 159, 262, 306, 322, 325, 423, 449, 451, 453, 478 and 497.

In principle, the importance of repetition of nouns and verbs, as well as any other linguistic device, in modeling the linguistic structure of the proverb should be most reliably evaluated when findings of this kind of study are related to those of a methodologically similar study of another discourse or, ideally, of various discourses. Such a task is beyond the scope of this thesis.

The only other major study on the subject known to me (Levin 1964) does not provide a suitable basis for comparison in this respect, since it only provides descriptions of individual cases of repetition in Russian proverbs, without any statistics for repetition in the corpus (and thus discourse) as a

whole. In his later paper based on the same Russian corpus, Levin reports the following: "No attempt has been made to determine the ratio of proverbs containing a device of repetition to those without such a device. (...) This analysis suggested the divisions according to type of repetition and a representative sample of approximately 1400 proverbs selected for further study. The breakdown of major types within this sample of 1400 is as follows: phonetic devices — 10 per cent, grammatical devices — 28 percent, formulaic devices — 50 per cent, tripartite proverbs — 12 per cent" (1968:187).

The author does not mention lexical repetition because in his analysis "repetition of words in the same grammatical category, (...) repetition of the same word in different grammatical categories" and "repetition of words with the same root or of words with the same affix" (1968:181) are all treated as grammatical devices of repetition, but what is rather surprising in this report is that phonetic devices, which in his analysis include rhyme — and he finds rhyme to be the major device in the thesis (1964) — are found in only ten per cent of his corpus. Apparently, the figure refers only to antigrammatical rhyme, in which case the 28 per cent for grammatical devices is quite low (see Chapter IV in the present study).

3.4.5 Other word classes

In terms of patterns of repetition, prepositions and conjunctions in particular, but pronouns and adverbs as well, exhibit more uniformity than do nouns and verbs. Repeated prepositions and conjunctions are instances of exact repetition, with the exception of three cases of allomorphic variation, *vo* — *v* in Russ 120 and *oda* — *od* in Sb 332 and 333.

Furthermore, ellipsis is not a possibility in repetition of a preposition or conjunction. Adjectives and adverbs, given their primary syntactic subordination, are less likely to be found in ellipsis, which substantially reduces formal variation among repeated words of these two word classes.

And finally, considering also that all but prepositions are found more seldom in repetition in both Russ and Sb than are nouns or verbs, it will suffice to discuss repetition within these classes without maintaining a differentiation of levels of likeness achieved through their repetition, as was done in discussing verbs and nouns. Instead, where relevant, such variations shall be pointed out in the discussion of the given word class.

3.4.5.1 Prepositions

3.4.5.1.1 Frequency and repetition of prepositions

In terms of frequency of occurrence, repetition of prepositions occupies the third place among word classes in both languages, after nouns and verbs. In Russ 54 proverbs or 10.8% of the total and in Sb 38 or 7.6% of the total proverbs show repetition of the same preposition. Among these, some repeat two prepositions (Russ 442 and 477, Sb 453), or show three (Russ 204 and 324, Sb 134), or even four occurrences of the same preposition (Sb 316 and 363; the latter is described in detail in 2.8).

In distinction to words in lexical categories, the limited number of prepositions, their grammatical relevance and shortness of form make re-occurrence of an individual preposition in repetition rather predictable. This predictability of repetition coincides with the high frequency of prepositions in general: all prepositions found in repetition, except for *nad* (repeated in a single proverb), are also among the top fifty words in each vocabulary. It will be thus interesting to see in what role such frequent repetition of prepositions occurs.

For the reasons just stated, it is possible, and worthwhile, to conduct a frequency analysis of all prepositions found in repetition, and to compare the counts with the overall frequency of each preposition in the vocabulary. The results obtained are presented in Table 3.2 below, which lists the prepositions found repeated in two or more proverbs in each language, showing the number of proverbs with repetition of prepositions (column A), the number and percentage of occurrences in repetition (column B) and the overall frequency in the vocabulary (column C) for each preposition found in repetition.

The table shows a more or less stable correlation between the overall frequency of the preposition (C), on the one hand, and the number of proverbs containing its repetition (A) and the instances of its repetition (B), on the other. The occurrences in repetition for most of the prepositions make up between about a third and a half of the total number of occurrences of the given preposition in the vocabulary. The fact that a rather large portion of all prepositions is made up of those found in repetition suggests that repetition of prepositions most likely serves some general structural pattern. In the

analysis below, some attention will be paid to this prominence of repeated prepositions, in particular to *v* and *na* (since these are the most frequent and the most frequently repeated prepositions), in relation to their use in the proverb.

Table 3.2: Most frequently repeated prepositions in relation to their overall number in the vocabulary

A = Number of proverbs in which the preposition is repeated
B = Number/percentage of occurrences in repetition
C = Number of overall occurrences in the vocabulary

Russ	A	B	C	Sb	A	B	C
v	19	39/47%	83	u	7	16/30%	54
na	13	27/41%	66	od(a)	7	14/42.4%	33
s	5	10/33%	30	na	5	11/31%	36
po	3	6/26%	23	po	5	11/61%	18
za	3	6/37.5%	16	za	4	10/40%	25
bez	3	6/50%	12	bez	3	6/43%	14
dlja	2	4/67%	6	s	3	6/35.3%	17

There are several quantitative differences between Russ and Sb that are worth noticing. Firstly, scores for the top prepositions in A, B and C are considerably higher for Russ than those for the equivalent preposition in Sb. Secondly, *od(a)* is the second most frequent preposition in repetition in Sb, while in Russ *ot* is found repeated only once (not shown in the table). Thirdly, and perhaps most importantly, repetition of the most often repeated preposition has a noticeably greater share in the overall preposition repetition in Russ than in Sb: in Russ (*v*) is found in 19 out of 54 proverbs, in Sb (its equivalent *u*) in 7 out of 38. Additionally, with respect to *u*, it is interesting that the Russ vocabulary contains 17 instances of preposition *u* but only one of its repetition.

As for the difference in the number of proverbs with repetition of prepositions between Russ and Sb, one is tempted to explain it by the fact that Russ in general has a higher frequency of prepositions, as well as a greater number of prepositions that are repeated (14 vs. 11). This would then render the difference uninformative. Such an explanation, however, turns out to be insufficient when some comparisons, based on the data for repetition of

prepositions, are made. The difference of 3.2% between the percentage of proverbs with repetition of a preposition (10.8% in Russ vs. 7.6% in Sb) may be compared with the difference between the percentages of all occurrences for each of several groupings of these prepositions in each language, as well as for all the prepositions in each vocabulary.

Table 3.3: Frequency of prepositions as a word class

	Russ	Sb
1. The first 3 prepositions among the top 50 words	179/16%	123/10.2%
2. The first 7 prepositions among the top 50 words	236/21.1%	197/16.2%
3. All prepositions among the top 50 words	291/26%	214/17.7%
4. All prepositions in the vocabulary	300/9.5%	239/7.2%

Since all the prepositions shown in Table 3.2 belong to the top 50 words in each vocabulary, the difference between Russ and Sb found in 3) in the table is the most relevant. In Russ there are 12 prepositions making up 291 or 26% of the 1118 total for the 50 top words, and in Sb there are 9 prepositions making up 214 or 17.7% of the 1210 total for the 50 top words. In other words, the most frequent prepositions in Russ make up 8.3% more of the most frequent words than do the Sb. When this is compared with the difference of 3.2% between the percentages of proverbs with repetition of preposition in Russ and Sb, it follows that repetition of the most frequent prepositions is comparatively more prominent in Sb than in Russ, contrary to our expectations given the reverse difference in this latter relationship.

The repetition of prepositions is accompanied by the repetition of one or more words of other classes, in addition to various other devices, in almost half of all instances in both Russ and Sb. Some instances with the most abundant (multiple) word repetition are the following: in Russ, 304, which by repeating a clause and a prepositional construction in the gen. sg. uses the same preposition and verb twice and the noun four times: *Ot uma sxodjat s uma, a bez uma ne sojdeš s uma;* 455, repeating all three words: *Volos v volos, golos v golos;* 477, repeating two prepositions and three adjectives; and in Sb 134, in which each of the three nouns preceding and following *po* are repeated, in addition to demonstrative *eto*: *Zrno po zrno, eto pogača; dlaka po dlaka, eto bjelača; kaplja po kaplja, eto Morača;* Russ 295, which in addition to the repetition of *v* has a polysyndeton in five occurrences of *kak*: *Odin, kak bog, kak perst, kak porox v glazu, kak versta v pole, kak makov cvet;* Sb 324,

which varies only the verb and repeats the remaining four words in the same form: *Ni ubij, Bože, mimo svijet, ni pomozi, Bože, mimo svijet.*

The examples just cited are among the most illustrative with regard to the role of repetition of the same preposition, as is explained below.

3.4.5.1.2 Repetition of a preposition and its role in the structure

Structural patterns to which most repeated prepositions belong are two-fold.

In the most frequently encountered pattern, each preposition precedes a single word, almost exclusively a noun, in a clause complement construction — whose grammatical properties of case, number and class are also repeated — syntactically and often also symmetrically parallel to the one with the other preposition. The syntactical parallelism is in repetition of the function of the complement, while the symmetrical parallelism is embodied in the structural identity of the two complements.

This parallelism, however, is just one side of a binary formula. While repetition of the preposition, of grammatical properties of other words, and often also syllabic and prosodic repetition, on the one hand, establishes parallelism, some of these words, on the other hand, through their semantics, create contrast or antithesis.[26] The structural parallelism and lexical contrast (or antonymic word-pair), are opposed to one another in a mutual enhancement of their saliency, as can be seen, for example, between the adverbs in Russ 41 *Do carja daleko, do boga vysoko.*

Despite the structural simplicity, it is not always possible to determine the degree to which two objects (concepts, ideas) are contrasted or antithetical. But in any case, the two entities are mutually related, that is compared. Thus, the concepts denoted by the preposition + noun complement are either merely compared, e.g. Russ 181 *Lučše v pučinu, čem v kručinu,* Sb 138 *Iza zime toplo, iza kiše sunce;* or (compared and) contrasted, e.g. Russ 41 (above), Sb 143 *Iz ropstva ikad a iz groba nikad* and 335 *Od vode vode, a od vina nose;*

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[26]To avoid making a precise distinction, irrelevant for this study, between contrast and antithesis, I shall refer to either, or both, using 'contrast', except for when it is necessary to emphasize occurrence of antithesis, e.g., in verb or noun repetition creating antithesis.

or in antithesis: Russ 437 *V dobryj čas molvit', v xudoj promolčat'*, Sb 453 *U bogata na glas, a u siromaxa na čast.*

Thus, as repetition of preposition performs also a cohesive function, co-relating and tying the phrases with one another, by the same token it also provides the semantic contrast with additional saliency, that is, in addition to the saliency that stems from parallelism and the proposition-initial or proposition-final position.

It is a noun in the singular that is normally used in such parallel constructions with the same preposition, e.g. in Russ 371 *v borodu — v rebro*, 446 *v sredu — v četverg*, Sb 246 *na lopatu — na rešeto* and 253 *iz kože — iz vode*. These examples, repeating the predicate as well — zero-form in Russ, with a verb ellipsis in Sb — also show that, when the predicate is repeated, the expression of contrast relies on the semantics of the nouns following the repeated prepositions. Since the emphasis in such proverbs is on the contrast, nominal constructions with the repeated preposition are foregrounded. The contrasting semantics of such constructions with repetition of a preposition comes to the foreground even more evidently when the rest of the proposition is also repeated. An example with repetition of a zero-form predicate, involving also a complement noun repetition, is Russ 458: *Vremenem v gorku, a vremenem v norku.*

When also the noun following the preposition is repeated, this whole repeated complement construction then, rather than expressing contrast, provides the background for two contrasting and antithetical predications, as in Sb 324 (cited above) and 409 *S vragom došlo, s vragom i otišlo.*

With only a few exceptions, in Sb a noun referring to a concrete object is found to follow a repeated preposition, while in Russ a large number of abstract nouns are also found. A concrete and an abstract noun each following one of the re-occurring prepositions in the same proverb are not uncommon either.

In the other, much less common pattern, which is twice as frequent in Sb as in Russ, each of the prepositions is associated with the use of a relative and a demonstrative pronoun in either a *kto/ko — tot/taj* or *čto/što -to* sequence. In Sb each such preposition, anaphorically in the two propositions, always precedes the pronoun (which is, consequently, in an oblique case), which is followed by a short relative clause, as in: 350 *O čem čoek radio o tom se i hranio*, or 417 *S kim te vides tijem te i pišu.* The semantic structure of

proverbs with this syntactic pattern is an interesting sentential *metonymy* established in a logical association between two realia, an association through which some kind of identity between them is foregrounded. Paradoxically, some kind of metonymic identity can be seen even between two contrasted or antithetical realia: Sb 333 *Oda šta se čoek malo boji, od onoga nek se vrlo čuva.*

In Russ, this syntactic cliché is further petrified through a preference for the use of the zero-form of *jest'* in present tense, and thus characterized by extreme brevity of the clause: 439 *V čem smex, v tom i grex,* or 441 *V kom styd, v tom i strax.* When the prepositions do not precede relative words, but are found in two preposition + noun constructions functioning as condensed clauses, the constructions are mutually in an interesting *metaphoric* association: Russ 99 *Čto gus' bez vody, to mužik bez ženy,* and 102 *Čto za kov, to i za nož.* It is interesting to see, in the examples just cited, how sentence-level metonymy and metaphor can each depend on a syntactic association of the repeated preposition and the use of a pair of relative-demonstrative pronouns, the former illustrated in *V čem (...), — v tom (...),* the latter in *Čto (...), — to (...)* .

As in the most common pattern, in this latter one — in which the repeated preposition is linked to a relative and a demonstrative pronoun — repetition of the preposition is, in both Russ and Sb, an integral part of a structural parallelism between, usually two, propositions, as well as between two structural constituents of each proposition.

As most of the examples of the first pattern cited so far illustrate, repetition of a preposition is normally associated with two-clause sentence structure and syntactic coordination between the clauses, marked by either the conjunction *a,* or juxtaposition. It is also, as a rule, supported by repetition of case (and number) of the nouns following the prepositions. All these features contribute to the parallelism between lexical and syntactic structure of the propositions. Binarism and parallelism exist also in the pattern with two relative words, in which syntactic coordination is realized within the preposition + relative word pair, each of whose relative words functions as a head word of a dependent clause.

The effect of repetition is intensified when the repeated constructions (preposition + noun, or preposition + nominal syntagm) are either juxtaposed, e.g. Russ 142 *Koška skrebet na svoj na xrebet,* Russ 220 *Na vkus,*

na cvet mastera net, or occupy the same, usually the initial or the final, position in each proposition, e.g. in Russ: 447 *V stepi prostor, v lesu ugod'e*, or 441 and 458, in Sb: 335, 350 (all cited above). Further saliency of lexical repetition in general occurs when it is a part of repetition of several devices, including sometimes another word repetition. A prominent variety accompanying word repetition is grammatical repetition, which is quite frequently an element of a complex (and often complete) grammatical parallelism, for instance, in Russ 41, 455, 458, 477 or Sb 363 (described in the sample analyses in 2.8) and 423 *Snaha u rod, a svekrva u poprd.*

As far as phonological likeness of the repeated prepositions is concerned, it should be noticed that it is somewhat diminished when the final consonant of one of them undergoes either an assimilation by voicing or by place of articulation. This takes place in eight proverbs with repetition of *v*, thrice in repetition of *bez*, and also in repetition of *k* (twice), *ot* and *s* (once for each).

The extent of lexical likeness achieved through repetition of a preposition is in Russ further strengthened in a variety in which an isomorphic prefix occurs along with a repeated preposition. A good example, with double occurrence of each prefix and preposition *na* is Russ 212: *Na jamu drjazgu ne naxlamiš'sja, na smert' detej ne narožaeš'sja.* To a lesser degree, a morphological-lexical likeness can be found in a co-occurrence of a preposition with a single isomorphic prefix. There are 25 instances of co-occurrence of one or more isomorphic prepositions and prefixes in Russ. Interestingly, this variety is found in only six Sb proverbs. Most of such occurrences are dealt with in the section on syllable repetition in Chapter II. However, discussion of syllable repetition leaves out Russ cases with non-syllabic *k*, *s*, and *v*. Among them, especially prominent is preposition *v* in a proverb with a verb prefixed with *v* (found in 6 proverbs), as in Russ 314 *Ploxo ne kladi, v grex ne vvodi.*

This morphological-lexical likeness in Russ proverbs containing an isomorphic preposition and prefix is also enhanced by the mutual syntactic proximity of the two. The syntax is either a) a prefixed verb follows immediately (or after *ne*) a noun preceded by the preposition morphologically identical to the prefix, as in 213 *Na jamu ne napaseš'sja hlamu*, 300 *Ot berega otstaneš', k drugomu ne pristaneš', ni tak, ni sjak i staneš'*, 316 *Plohoj muž umret, dobraja žena po dvoram pojdet*, or b) a prefixed verb immediately

precedes a preposition + noun construction, as in 286 *Neznaemaja prjamizna navodit na kriviznu*, 323 *Podavajsja po rukam, tak legče budet volosam.*

In an odd case, essentially the same effect of complete lexical likeness as seen in repetition of a preposition is found in Russ 39, using preposition *do* and conjunction *da*, which differ in spelling but not phonologically.

3.4.5.2 Pronouns

Pronouns are also discussed in this chapter, despite the relatively small number of proverbs in which they are found repeated (18 in each language) for the sake of considering two issues in particular: firstly, the extreme infrequency of personal pronouns, and secondly, the likely relationship of the (infrequent) repetition of relative pronouns to one of the syntactic formulae.

Perhaps the most striking characteristic of the pronominal vocabulary is that personal pronouns in general are rare, especially in Russ. First person pronouns are practically absent from both the Russ and Sb part of the corpus. Odd cases are 2 occurrences of *nas* in Russ 269 and *mi* in Sb 343 *Onaj mi je brat koji mi je dobru rad.* (There is also an occurrence of *ja*, which, however, is not a pronoun but a homophonous vernacular form used synonymously to the conjunction *ili* (usually preceding the particle *li*), in Sb 157: *Ja pravo, ja nikako.*) Only enclitic forms of second and normally also of third person personal pronouns are encountered in Sb. Personal pronouns are also rare in Russ, regarding which the discussion can end here with a statement that, out of the total of 10 occurrences of personal pronouns in the vocabulary, only one is of second person *tebja* and half are oblique cases of the third person singular.

The second person in Sb occurs in enclitic dat. sg. *ti* once in each of four proverbs, e.g. 124: *Zbori pravo, sjedi đe ti drago.* Only in acc. sg. *te* two out of four occurrences are in repetition: 417 *S kim te vide s tijem te i pišu.* It should be noted that, characteristically for proverbial discourse, the second person of personal pronouns in proverbs has a universal rather than specific referent.

A curiosity of the third person in Sb is that in 26 instances it is the masculine enclitic dat. sg. *mu* or acc. sg. *ga* (in repetition in 9 and 64), and only twice feminine dat. sg. *joj*.

The extreme infrequency of personal pronouns in repetition is, of course, explained by their confirmed infrequency in the vocabulary in general, and this latter by the impersonal character of proverbial discourse.

The case of relative and demonstrative pronouns is more interesting because they are not rare in the vocabulary, but are rare in repetition, especially demonstrative ones.

A likely reason for the relatively low prominence of relative and the virtual absence of demonstrative pronouns in repetition may be found in the fact that one of frequent syntactic formulae employs either two *distinctive* pronouns, a relative in the first, and a demonstrative in the second clause, or pronominal adverbs, in a syntax that supports an idea of two predications or qualities that come together (often in a cause-effect relationship) in one agent or object, e.g. Russ 153 *Kto pervee, tot pravee.*

This syntactic pattern is in Russ encountered in 49 instances or about 10% of all proverbs, and in 73/14.6% in Sb. In an interesting example of such a pattern both *kto* and *tot* create a polyptoton, and thus a double pronoun repetition, in Russ 151 *Kto kogo slomit, tot togo i topčet.*

The greatest number of proverbs having pronoun repetition comprise, however, those with relative pronouns, particularly *kto/ko* in both Russ and Sb, and *čto* in Sb. Their repetition is usually employed in some of the characteristic patterns identified in relation to repetition within other word classes. In Russ, among 8 proverbs with repetition of *čto*, its most interesting usages are the following: in two symmetrical intra-propositional comparisons, which are mutually contrasted, in 204, 351 and 396 *Star, čto sobaka, a mal, čto ščenok*, and in two rare instances of comparison followed by a comment in 73 and 336 *Posol, čto mex: čto v nego vložiš', to i neset.*

With repetition of *kto/ko* there are 7 proverbs in the Russ and 5 in the Sb part of corpus. In Russ they are repetition of nom. in 44, 159 and 420, dat. *komu* in 136 and 137, and acc. *kogo* in 132 and 151, while all Sb examples are repetition of nom. Proverbs as a whole, and the structures of which they are part in particular, are characterized, as in the case of repetition of *čto*, by parallelism in syntax and contrast in semantics. Parallelism tends to become more symmetric in form when *kto/ko* assumes the initial position, especially in Russ 151 (above), 137 *Komu žit', a komu gnit'*, Russ 159 *Kto stroit, a kto zorít*, Sb 218 *Ko se kriv kune, od traga gine, a ko se prav kune, od straha*, but

also in Russ 132 and 136 (with a triple use of *komu*) *Komu blin, komu klin, a komu prosto šiš.*

The same properties of structural simplicity in parallelism within a bipartite proverb are a feature of most of the remaining examples of pronoun repetition, as for instance among a few in Sb with possessive pronouns. It is interesting to see that such a pattern (one of the formulae, which are discussed in Chapter IV) is retained in variations of the same proverb: Sb 261 *Moja kućica moja slobodica* and 408 *Svoja kućica svoja voljica.*

When two pronouns are repeated in the same proverb, it is again usually a demonstrative-relative pair. In Russ 151 (*kto-tot*, above), 412 (*to-čto*) *To ne vor, čto xorošo kradet, a to vor, čto xorošo koncy xoronit,* and 420 (tomu-kto) *Tošno tomu, kto sražaetsja, a tošneje tomu, kto ostanetsja.*

Two pronouns are found in repetition in Sb in 9 (with the polyptoton *svoj svoga*, in addition to *ga*): *Ako svoj svoga i ne hrani, ali teško onom ko ga nema da ga brani,* 21 (*onom koga*): *Blago onom koga sreća hrani, a teško onom koga snaga hrani* and 316 (*onomu, čemu*): *Nije u onomu u čemu oči vide, nego u onomu u čemu Bog dade.*

Finally, all instances of pronoun repetition in Sb are those of exact repetition of form, while in Russ four (in 73, 151 and 352) are instances of approximate repetition.

3.4.5.3 Adjectives and adverbs

In the 13 Russ proverbs with repetition of adjective or/and adverb, the first occurring is normally found in the initial position (145, 172, 173, 278, 420, 475, 477), or immediately following a preposition (425, 442), a negation (242), or negation + pronoun (257) in the initial position. In bi-propositional proverbs, the re-occurring adjective/adverb is also either the first word or the one following a (repeated) preposition. Consequently, these proverbs are, as a rule, marked by syntactic parallelism.

Except in 257 and 477, the repetition of adjectives is in altered form. Negation is associated with one of the re-occurring words, as the most frequent formal alternation, in the function of aiding the expression of contrast or/and antithesis, e.g. 278 *Nemnogo čitaj, da mnogo razumej,* 442 *V krepostnyx delax po krepostjam, v nekrepostnyx — po rozyskam,* or 257 *Ne to dorogo, čto krasnogo zolota, a dorogo, čto dobrogo masterstva.*

Another, less frequent, pattern is polyptoton, as in 172 *Lixoe lixim izbyvaetsja*. A unique case of double polyptoton, also marked by symmetrical parallelism between these two, is 173 *Lixoe lixomu, a dobroe dobromu*. The effect of the repetition of the two adjectives in polyptoton in this proverb is very strongly felt, for all the proverb contains are the two figures and a conjunction.

In addition to various other devices, the repetition of adjective/adverb is often supported by the repetition of one or more other words, usually prepositions or pronouns. This group comprises 7 proverbs. A record five words (*xorošo, rovno, xudo, na* and *s*) are repeated, in completely identical form, in 477 *Xorošo na xorošo — rovno med s kalačom: a xudo na xudo — rovno s poxmel'ja batožem*.

The most prominent formal characteristic found in Russ is also shared by most of the Sb proverbs with repetition of an adjective. That is, the first occurring of the two occupies the initial position, the second being either the next word, or the first word of the clause or syntagm parallel to the initial one.

Adjectives in Sb are repeated in nine proverbs, and, with one exception, always in altered form. The alternation is, as in Russ, normally in the form of negation in the second occurrence, as in Sb 256 and 159: *mirno — nemirno, jačega — nejačega*, respectively.

Another noticeable form is again polyptoton, but with a syntax different from such figure in Russ. In Russ, the acc. + dat. polyptoton (172, 173 cited above) is in an impersonal zero-verb clause with two objects; in Sb, the nom. + acc. polyptoton — in the initial position of a monoclausal proverb — expresses a subject and object complement, and thus the proverb necessarily has at least a verb in addition, as in Sb 265 *Mutav mutavog najbolje razumije*, and 395 *Ružna ružnu ište*.

An exception is Sb 249, in which each of the four words is repeated in identical form, with the adjectives initiating each of the two parts within each proposition, thus creating a double anaphora: *Mala đeca mala briga, velika đeca velika briga*. The result is a multiple repetition at various linguistic levels: symmetric syllabic and grammatical parallelism of the halves in each of the two propositions, as well as rhyme, rhythmic and metric repetition, as was described in more detail in Chapter II. Juxtaposing the two propositions with repetition of adjectival antonyms creates antithesis, which feels like a

semantic balance to the formal likeness between the two symmetrical propositions of the proverb.

Like adjectives, repeated Sb adverbs tend to occur at or right next to the initial position in each proposition, particularly in the second one, since the first proposition frequently begins with a relative word (nom. forms of *kto/ko* alone, with frequency of 26/41, is the initial word in 17/28 Russ/Sb proverbs, respectively). However, unlike in the case of Sb adjectives, in all six instances of adverb repetition in Sb (70, 204, 211, 274, 398, 498) it is the exact word form that is repeated. The first and the last three Sb proverbs also show some kind of support for the repetition of the adverb: the same initial syllable in the intervening word in 211 (...)*mudro mući, mudro* (...), the same word root in 274 *Na svinjama se svinjski dobije, ali se svinjski i izgubi,* and repetition of the subsequent preposition in 70 *Daleko od očiju daleko od srca,* and 498 *Što je daleko od očiju, daleko i od srca.* These examples also serve well to illustrate the already found association of word repetition and contrast. When no negation is involved, word repetition provides a syntactic-semantic context for contrast (274, *svinjski dobije — svinjski i izgubi*), which in 211 turns into an unusual paradox: *Ko mudro mući, mudro govori.*

Adjectives and adverbs show a feature also found, but rarely, in repetition of nouns and verbs, while quite often in repetition within word classes with a relatively limited number of units: prepositions, pronouns and conjunctions. As in these, the same word is found in repetition in more than one proverb: in, *xoroš(o)* in 412, 475 and 477, and *lixoe* in 172 and 173; while Sb 70 and 498 repeat the same adverb (*daleko*), although the two are variations of the same proverb.

Adjective/adverb pairs in general are often found in comparative expressions, or in antonymic contrasts.

3.4.5.4 Conjunctions

The same conjunction is repeated in both parts of the corpus: in Russ, in 15 proverbs, less often than proverbs with repetition of pronouns (18), but more than those repeating adjectives or adverbs taken together (13), and in 11 Sb proverbs, less frequently than the proverbs with repetition of pronouns (18), but more than those with adjectives (9) or adverbs (6).

In spite of its relative infrequent occurrence, repetition of conjunctions is discussed, because it too, like repetition of verbs, nouns, prepositions and pronouns, offers an illustrative insight into the techniques of modeling parallelism and contrast, the fundamental underlying patterns of proverbial discourse.

Characteristically, in 9 Russ proverbs it is the repetition of the conjunction *da*, which is typical for vernacular and colloquial speech. In Sb, however, there is no preference for any of the few conjunctions found in repetition within a proverb: *i* and *kao* are found in two, while all the other ones are found repeated only once.

Noteworthy is the fact that comparative conjunctions are quite rare in the vocabulary, and extremely rarely found in repetition in both languages. In Russ, *kak* may seem to be an exception in terms of frequency. However, it is repeated only in 295, occurring there a record five times, due to which it is relatively frequent in the vocabulary (10 times as a conjunction, once as a relative pronominal adverb). In Sb *kao* is found in repetition only in two proverbs, 346 and 479.

This evidence about comparative conjunctions is counter to the impression gained so far that comparison is one of the most prominent logical (semantic) relationships. It has been illustrated above that repetition of words in other word classes, as well as repetition of other devices, is associated with comparison and contrast in proverbs with two coordinated, and normally juxtaposed, clauses, or with two propositions. Sb 346 *Osijeci psu uši, pas kao i pas; osijeci rep, pas kao i pas,* repeating the comparative conjunction *kao*, offers an explanation for the noted absence of comparative conjunctions in repetition. In this proverb the repetition of *kao* is made possible by the four-clause sentence structure. In fact, this proverb consists of two juxtaposed sentences, each comprising two clauses in a cause-effect syntactic subordination, the predicate being expressed by an imperative in the first and zero-verb in the second.

In four of the Russ proverbs with repetition of a conjunction at least one other word is also repeated. Three of these stand out: 199, in which conjunction *da* is part of a multiple repetition of syllable *da*: *Mužik da sobaka vsegda na dvore, a baba da koška zavsegda v izbe;* 269, with two conjunctions used three times and one two times: *Ne vo vsjakoj tuče grom; a i grom, da ne grjanet; a i grjanet, da ne po nas; a i po nas — avos' opalit, ne ub'et;* and 457,

in which the conjunction is part of the repetition of a whole clause: *Vorona prjamo letaet, da za more ne popadaet; kosatka krjukami letaet, da za more popadaet.*

Comparing repetition of the same conjunction with that of words in other classes, an opposition emerges between, on the one hand, all the cases of repetition of a conjunction and a great majority of those among prepositions and pronouns, and repetition of verbs, nouns, adjectives and adverbs, on the other. The repetition in the former group is exact repetition of the form, while in the latter it is either exact or approximate. This fact perhaps contributes to the importance of the formal likeness of the repeated forms within the former group (since in the case of repeated prepositions, conjunctions and pronouns it is the likeness of an absolute identity). On the other hand, this does not enable us to say that repetition of a word in the former group contributes more to the formal likeness within the given proverb as a whole, since words in the first group are on average much shorter than words in the latter group.

Repetition of a conjunction is associated with and a part of parallelism. It is an integral part of repetition of the same type of syntactic relationship between clauses or syntagms in 9 Russ and 5 Sb proverbs. Examples in Russ are: with *da* in 49 *Dorogo da milo, deševo da gnilo,* and 145 *Krivo, da igrivo; prjamo, da uprjamo,* and in Sb 243 *Lovci su da love, a prepelice da bježe;* with *kao* in Sb 479 *Hrani konja kao brata, a jaši ga kao dušmanina.* The examples just cited also show two structural features which are characteristically present in most proverbs with conjunction repetition. Firstly, the repeated conjunctions are associated with the repetition of grammatical properties not only of the word following each conjunction, but also of the structures preceding it. Secondly, the re-occurring conjunction in each of the three examples is followed by a contrasting or antithetical word.

In a few proverbs with no such parallelism, the structures introduced by repeated conjunctions are adjacent, e.g. with *da* in Russ 428 *Um da umec, da tretij dubec,* and *a* in Sb 449 *Turci polje, a Latini more, A Hrišćani drvlje i kamenje.* There are also examples combining parallelism and the adjacency of the structures, as Russ 295 and Sb 157 *Ja pravo, ja nikako.* In both the variation with parallelism and the one with adjacency of structures, the same sentential function of the structures introduced with the conjunction is also repeated.

As for prepositions, a comparison of frequency and certain structural properties of conjunctions in repetition with these of conjunctions in the corpus vocabulary in general can be insightful. A survey of conjunctions in the vocabulary is presented in the following table.

Table 3.4: Conjunctions and their frequency in the vocabulary

Russ		Sb	
i	96	i	98
a	77	a	80
da	56	nego	24
kak	10	kad	19
koli	5	da, al(i)	15 each
libo	2	ako	14
		dok	10
		kao	7
		ili	5
		pa	4

A very small number of conjunctions, especially in Russ, is found in the vocabulary in general: 6 in Russ and 11 in Sb. Also, a complete absence of compound conjunctions in both Russ and Sb, and of some primary conjunctions in Russ (*no, ili, ibo*) is to be noted. However, among those found in the vocabulary and shown above, the most frequent ones are also among the most frequent words in general. The most important facts regarding their frequency in the corpus are the following: *i*, *a*, and *da* are the 2nd, 4th and 6th ranked words in Russ, while in Sb *i* and *a* are the 4th and 5th. Furthermore, the 9 most frequent conjunctions in Sb are among the top 50 words.

Apart from their number and frequency, what is most striking is the narrow range of syntactic-semantic categories (that is, functions) of conjunctions in Russ. Speaking only of the primary functions of conjunctions, the range comprises conjunctive, adversative, comparative and disjunctive functions; while in Sb also negative (*nego*, occasionally), temporal (*kad, dok*), conditional (*ako*), and that of the object-clause (*da*) are found. However, this range is further restricted among proverbs with a conjunction in repetition, normally only two of these functions are found in repetition in

more than one proverb in each part of the corpus: marked by *da* and *i* in Russ, by *i* and *ili* in Sb.

The number of proverbs with word repetition within particular word classes just discussed in the preceding section is summarized for both languages in the table below.

Table 3.5: Proverbs with repetition of adjectives, adverbs, prepositions, pronouns and conjunctions

	Russ	Sb
prepositions	54 / 10.8%	38 / 7.6%
pronouns	18 / 3.6%	18 / 3.6%
adjectives/adverbs	13 / 2.6%	15 / 3%
conjunctions	15 / 3%	11 / 2.2%
Total	100 / 20%	82 / 16.4%

Finally, it needs to be noted that the actual number of instances of repetition in each of these classes is greater than the number of proverbs in which they occur (shown in the table above) because more than one word is repeated in a number of proverbs. Furthermore, the number of words is greater than twice the number of instances of repetition, taking into account that some of these proverbs repeat the word(s) more than once.

3.4.5.5 Negation

In an interesting and relevant coincidence, the most frequent word in both Russ and Sb is the negative particle *ne*, found 212 and 119 times in each part of the corpus, respectively. Besides frequency, the use of *ne* is further made prominent in two ways: by beginning a proverb with *ne*, and by placing stress on it. The former is a feature of Russ, in which *ne* is the initial word in 44 proverbs; the latter of Sb, in which a stress shift from the subsequent word on to *ne* takes place in 69 (more than half) of the occurrences of *ne*.

Additionally, in Sb three other negative words are among the 15 most frequent words: *nije*, *ni* and *nema*, with respective frequency of occurrence 36, 28 and 24, which taken together compensate for the difference in frequency of *ne* between Russ and Sb. Two other negative words are also found among frequent words in Russ: *ni* with 17 and *net* with 13 occurrences.

This prominence of negative words in the vocabulary is a significant fact which is likely to have certain implications for the discourse structure. As in the case of prepositions, a direct proportion is seen between the overall high frequency of negative words, on the one hand, and their repetition in individual proverbs, on the other, the latter occurring in 52 Russ and 55 Sb proverbs.

However, in contrast to repetition of all other words, repetition of negative words is likely not to stem merely from such functions of repetition as achieving a certain degree of formal likeness within a proverb, or shaping a particular syntactic-semantic pattern, e.g. parallelism or/and contrast. My hypothesis is that the frequency with which negative words, and negative particles in particular, re-occur in both individual proverbs and in the vocabulary in general suggests that the semantics of negation — the denial, or contradiction of something — suits some of the pragmatic aims of the discourse. In the analysis of repetition of negative words and their use below this hypothesis is tested.

An occurrence of any two or more negative words is here treated as a repetition of negation. This approach is taken on the basis of the understanding that, in addition to repetition of an individual form, it is important to investigate repetition of the category of negation as an expression of the speaker's attitude toward the subject of the speech (or an element in it), that is as a negative assessment, or perception, of the subject.

Formally speaking, the discussion in this section may, therefore, be seen as somewhat deviant from the title of this chapter, for it is both morphological and lexical.

Russ and Sb are quite unlike both in terms of the choice of negative words that are predominantly involved in repetition and the patterns in which they are repeated. Repetitions of the particle *ne* and, to a lesser extent, *ni* are by far the most prevailing in Russ, found in 46 proverbs. In the remaining 6 proverbs, one of the two negative words is *ne* and the other is a negative relative pronoun or adverb. In Sb, however, the numbers are more equally split, with particles used in 24 proverbs and with one or more negative words from among a variety of derivations with *ne* or *ni* (most often, verbs, negative relative pronouns and nouns) in 31, out of which 17 proverbs have one and 14 proverbs have 2 derived negative words.

Furthermore, two emerging patterns in which negation is repeated, that are discussed below, are a salient feature of Russ but not of Sb. This and the above described difference in the choice of words repeated thus make repetition of negation in Russ and Sb both lexically and syntactically distinctive.

Beginning a description of the syntax of repetition of negation, the first point remarkable is of verbal negation as the main type of syntactic association of *ne* with another word.

In about two thirds (in 35 out of the total 52) of all Russ proverbs with repetition of negation, it is a re-occurrence of *ne* preceding a verb. This is the lexical aspect of the uniformity in repetition of negation seen in Russ much more consistently than in Sb, in which such a double occurrence of *ne* preceding a verb takes place in 16 out of 55 proverbs. Since, in addition to the negative particle, usually most (or often all) grammatical properties of the following verbs are repeated, proverbs in this group are marked by syntactic parallelism. The minimal parallelism is found between negated predicates, as in Russ 160 *Kto v Moskve ne byval, krasoty ne vidal* or Sb 107 *Đe se stariji ne čuju tu Bog ne pomaže*, but most often between propositions/clauses as a whole, e.g. Russ 195 *Molviš' — ne vorotiš', a pljuneš' — ne proglotiš'* or Sb 213 *Ko ne umali guzi, taj ne ugodi druzi.*

Among the proverbs with repetition of *ne*, the most intensely structured, in terms of achieving a complex lexical-grammatical repetition as well as parallelism, aided by asyndeton, are eleven proverbs in Russ and three in Sb with anaphoric use of *ne* or *ni* in each proposition. Examples with *ne* are Russ 238 *Ne govori pravdy, ne terjaj družby* and 240 *Ne žiloj — ne živoj* and Sb 284 *Ne guli kore, ne čini gore.* With *ni* this is found in two Russ and two Sb proverbs: Russ 287 *Ni pravedniku venca, ni grešniku konca* and 288 *Ni v gorode Bogdan, ni v sele Selifan*, and Sb 309 *Ni zlu teci ni dobru ostavi* and 322 *Ni svagđe, ni svašto.* Contrast or antithesis, incorporated in syntactic parallelism, is another common feature of proverbs in this group, as for instance in the examples just cited, in which the contrasting words often rhyme: *pravedniku — grešniku, venca — konca, v gorode — v sele, zlu — dobru.*

However, a pattern more frequent than anaphora, a pattern of parallelism involving *ne* in Russ proverbs, is seen in the occurrence of a negated predicate in the final position of each proposition, or clause. This is a

feature of 17 Russ proverbs and only 5 Sb ones. As the following Russ predicate pairs in parallelism show, the verbs, being end-words of the propositions, also often rhyme: 160 *ne byval — ne vidal,* 195 *ne vorotiš' — ne proglotiš,* or 314 *ne kladi — ne vvodi.* With an intensified effect of such repetition, a negated predicate in clause-final position can be found three times, as in Russ 306 *Pej, ne napivajsja; ljubi, da ne vljubljajsja; igraj, da ne otygryvajsja,* or four times, as in Russ 474 *Xodi — ne šatajsja, govori — ne zaikajsja, eš — ne ob`edajsja, stoj — ne kačajsja.* The last two cited proverbs are good examples illustrating asyndeton, an important syntactic marker of polyclausal proverbs, when a conjunction connecting clauses is used between two clauses forming a pair, it is not used between two such pairs. From the syntactical point of view, both 306 and 474 could be read as a juxtaposition of three or four sentences (and perhaps proverbs too), respectively.

Since both the initial and the final positions in Russ and Sb are those of relative saliency, the negated predicate re-occurring in parallelism is foregrounded in both patterns.

Occurrence of negative words in which either of the two particles is a morpheme is a feature of Sb proverbs. Negative pronouns, in the first place *niko* and *ništa,* and negative pronominal adverbs (most often *nikad*) co-occur in Sb with *ne* or *ni,* or negated forms of the present of *jesam* and *imati* (3. pers. sg. *nije* and *nema,* respectively). Repetition involving some of the just cited negative words within a single clause, as well as across the clause boundary, stems from the syntactic possibility of multiple negation in both Russian and Serbian, or more specifically from the required negation of the predicate syntactically associated with a negative relative pronoun or pronominal adverb.

A major characteristic of most proverbs in this group, with the exception of those with *nije,* is that they comprise a single clause, as in examples Sb 254 *Milici u mrvici nema ništa,* 288 *Neimanje nemir od svijeta* or 372 *Prava muka nikad ne gine.* In addition, a negative pronoun, noun or adverb, having a non-predicative function, in the same clause with negated predicate (most often *nije* or *nema*) assumes a position dependent on that predicate. This syntactic difference in relation to the proverbs with repetition of *ne* or *ni* explains the lack of parallelism among negative words in proverbs of this group. Instead, as in the just cited examples, the negative words are often adjacent, e.g. Sb 99 *Đevojačkog sela nigđe nema* or in a polyptoton in

169 *Kad je rat, niko nikom nije brat,* as well as in the following examples: 312 *Nije nikakva majstorija,* 313 *Nije ni* (...), 318 *Niko ne vidi* (...), 326 *Ništa nije gore* (...) or 327 *Ništa nije novo* (...)

Only when the same verb is repeated can a parallelism can be found; an approximate kind as in Sb 209 *Kome nije vijeka, nije mu ni lijeka,* Sb 500 *Što nije gledati, nije ni glodati,* or a full triple parallelism, within each proposition and between the two propositions of Sb 303 *Nesta vina, nesta razgovora, nesta blaga, nesta prijatelja.*

Quite interesting cases are two Sb proverbs, each with two rhyming deverbal nominal derivations with *ne*: *8 Ako neće nećo, a ono hoće hoćo* and 296 *Nemogoše pojedoše, A nekćeše sve popiše.* All four nouns, *nećo, hoćo, nekćeše* and *nemogoše,* are licencia poetica derivations (the first three from the verb *hteti,* the last from *moći*) and are used in a word play, which is primarily based on the derivational morphology in 8, identity of form between subject nouns and predicate aorists in 296, and on rhyme in both proverbs. Complementing these, syntactic parallelism and antithesis/contrast are seen in both proverbs.

Summarizing the discourse relevance of the repetition of negation as described above, it is interesting to comment on how the prominence of the denial expressed by negation relates to other patterns, such as parallelism and especially contrast, and to some fundamental aims of the discourse.

The denial expressed in repetition of negation is primarily a denial of the predicate, as seen in repetition of the particles *ne* and *ni.* Repetition of negation of the predicate is an expression of the impossibility of realization of the negated predicates based on their mutual dependency. In the structure, this is reflected in syntactic parallelism. Although occasionally compared and contrasted (e.g. Russ 293 and 80, respectively), such negated predicates are most often in a cause — effect relationship of the type "If not P1 (predicate1), not P2 (predicate2)", while appearing in a variety of sentence-syntax surface structures.

On the other hand, the essence of most of the repeated negations involving negative relative words comprises an absolute denial of any subject associable with the predication (Russ/Sb *nikto/niko, ničego/ništa*), or of any circumstance in which the predication is realizable (Sb *nikad, nigđe, nikud, nikakva*).

In general, one of the major pragmatic purposes of the proverb is an argument for prescribing or restricting. As hypothesized, negation, and its repetition, play an important role in expressing the latter argument. Proverbs with repetition of negation are primarily restrictive. Sb proverbs are almost exclusively of this type, while 13 such proverbs (one fourth of the 52 total) are found among the Russ examples. This is largely due to a, perhaps unexpected, lack of negated imperatives among proverbs with repetition of negation.

Having examined repetition of lexical devices in individual proverbs, its patterns and the extent of occurrence in particular word classes, I now proceed with an examination of the entire lexicon of both corpora. Below I discuss lexical repetition in each part of the corpus taken as if it were a single text. It is therefore a concordance analysis of salient points in lexical incidence.

3.5 Repetition in the corpus as a whole

In this section frequency of lexical items, or token word frequencies, in each part of the corpus are treated and examined as repetition. The assumption is that, by means of analyzing a random sample of the proverb, such as the corpus analyzed here, the proverb may be studied as a single text. This approach is based on the theory of text as presented in literary semiotics, according to which even such a broad phenomenon as culture may be compared to and interpreted as a text, since, as Lotman observes, "more than anything else created by man, the artistic text most clearly manifests those properties which draw the cybernetician's attention to the structure of living tissue" (1977:300).

Frequency indices, especially of nouns and verbs, could perhaps be of greater interest in the semantic research of proverbial discourse, especially with respect to its referential world. For the research aims of this thesis, a frequency index created by the help of concordance building software is particularly beneficial in determining the level of repetitiveness of word classes and individual words, with their declensional and conjugational forms. The analysis in this section focuses on the dominant word classes, as well as words and individual word forms within the two corpora. In addition, repetition of other classes is identified and at least briefly discussed, while all

the words appearing with frequency 5 and up are identified with their repetition interpreted in the word class context.

Using the concordance constructing ability of Conc 1.76 words are grouped in form frequency indices in alphabetical order, and number of occurrences of each form is obtained. By means of the computer concordance analysis, a simultaneous investigation of the repetition of root and prefix morphemes is possible at the same time as lexical repetition is analyzed. Besides this, attention is paid to joining together instances of morphonological alternations of a morpheme, so that all but suffix morphology is incorporated in the description of lexical repetition in this chapter. What remains to be examined at the morphological level is suffixes. Since a great deal of overlapping is found between suffix repetition and rhyme, prominent suffixes are discussed in the analysis of rhyme in Chapter II (2.7).

The basic hypotheses concerning word and word class frequencies in the corpus are the following: 1. Short words and non-lexical classes (negation and prepositions in particular) have the highest frequency, 2. Some nouns and the nominal class in general are nevertheless also important for the discourse.

To account for the participation of individual words in proverbial discourse in particular, an index of all words, along with the frequency of occurrence of each word and reference numbers for each proverb in which a particular word-form appears, is built for each corpus. The index, however, provides a variety of types of information that is relevant with regard to lexical repetition. Some of the most salient pieces of information offered by the indices are summarized in Table 3.6 below.

Table 3.6: The ratio between the total number of words in the corpus, distinct forms, and repeated forms

	Words in corpus	Distinct word forms	Repeated word forms	Repeated words - all occurrences
Russ	3160	1687/53.38%	317/10.03%	1790/56.64%
Sb	3328	1499/45.04%	434/13.04%	2263/68%

Compared for the number of the total and distinct words in the table above, Russ and Sb show two differences that merit notice. On the one hand,

there is a difference between Russ and Sb in both figures. The Russ corpus uses fewer words while having a higher percentage of distinct forms. Sb, on the other hand, has a corpus with more words and an 8.3 % fewer share of distinct words in the vocabulary than in Russ. Both the larger number of words and the fewer number of distinct words in the Sb corpus (the latter figure perhaps more convincingly), as well as the proportion of one to another, suggest a relatively more important role of lexical repetition in the discourse as a whole in Sb than in Russ proverbs. This evidence needs to be further examined below through a comparison of the participation of repeated words in the corpora.

The first noticeable difference is between the 317 repeated words in Russ and the fact that they make up 18.8 per cent of the distinctive words, and the corresponding 434, or 28.95 per cent of distinctive word forms in Sb. Perhaps due to this fact — that out of the distinctive words about ten per cent more are repeated throughout the corpus in Sb than in Russ — there is also another difference between the two corpora, which can be seen in the following comparison. Even though the repeatedly found word forms' participation in Russ is only 10 per cent of the entire lexis, put together their occurrences number 1790, therefore making up 56.64 per cent of all the words in the corpus. In Sb, it is also a low 13 per cent of all the words but their repetition totals 2263 words, or 68 per cent of the corpus. This also suggests that word form repetition in Sb, as seen through this comparison of proportions of frequently used words in each language, is more important than in Russ, since only a 3 per cent higher portion of all words in Sb makes up an 11.4 per cent higher share of the entire lexis in favor of Sb.

When the share of the most highly ranked words in the total lexis in each language is compared, no important difference is found between the Russ and Sb corpus if the top 10, 20, or 50 words are compared. However, an interesting shift takes place if larger and larger numbers are compared. The higher the number of top frequency words compared, the more Russ and Sb differ in the share of these in the total lexis. This distancing between Sb and Russ, with respect to the number of occurring lexical forms in the total lexical inventory, is progressively proportionate with the rising number of most frequent words taken for comparison. The following table illustrates this tendency.

Table 3.7: Repeated lexical forms' share in the lexicon (the total word corpus)

	Top 10 words/ 10 most fr. w.	Top 20 words	Top 30 words	Top 50 words	All repeated lexical forms
Russ	707/22.37%	873/27.62%	978/30.94%	1118/35.37%	1790/56.64%
Sb	703/21.12%	913/27.43%	1043/31.34%	1210/36.35%	2263/67.99%

The closeness of the percentages showing participation of the top most frequent words in both corpora, in the table above, is predictable. Statistical studies in major Indo-European languages have shown that there is a great probability that the 15 most frequent words, for instance, will constitute 25%, and the top 100 words will make up 60% of any text (Crystal 1994: 87). In the Russ corpus the first 15 words account for 25.44, and in Sb for 24.18 per cent of all words. It should be noted here that the first 15 Russ words are all grammatical (no lexical category is found), while in Sb only the 14th and 15th ranked are not grammatical words. The 100 most frequent ones account for only 41.45 in Russ, and 43.75 per cent in Sb. This aberration from the above mentioned statistical probability is perhaps best attributable to the impact of the small size of the corpora. The lack of any important difference in percentages between Russ and Sb proverbs supports such a hypothesis. However, as already noted, when all repeated lexical forms are compared, Sb repeated words have a more prominent role in their corpus than do Russ (68 vs. 56.6 per cent, respectively).

What is important to consider with regard to the incidence of the most frequent words in the corpus is whether and to what extent the most frequent words or word forms are also repeated in individual proverbs. The less they are, the more a characteristic of the discourse vocabulary they are. And vice versa, those appearing several times in a single proverb lose some of the discourse relevance suggested by their frequency. While multiple repetition of a particular verb or noun does occur in a single proverb, it is not the case with regard to words of non-lexical classes, which occupy almost all the ranks in Table 3.8.

Table 3.8: The first 30 frequency forms in Russian and Serbian:

Russian				Serbian		
1.	ne		(212)	ne		(119)
2.	i		(96)	se		(106)
3.	v		(83)	je		(102)
4.	a		(77)	i		(98)
5.	na		(66)	a		(80)
6.	da		(56)	u		(54)
7.	čto		(39)	ko		(41)
8.	s		(30)	na		(36)
9.	kto		(26)	nije		(36)
10.	po	first 10=708	(23)	od	first 10=703	(31)
11.	to		(23)	ni		(28)
12.	gde		(21)	za		(25)
13.	tak		(19)	nego		(24)
14.	ni		(17)	nema		(24)
15.	u		(17)	valja	805/24.18%	(21)
16.	za		(16)	kad		(19)
17.	ot		(14)	po		(18)
18.	lučše		(13)	bog		(17)
19.	net		(13)	može		(17)
20.	vse	first 20=874	(13)	s	first 20=913	(17)
21.	bez		(12)	da		(16)
22.	togo		(12)	mu		(15)
23.	kak		(11)	ako		(14)
24.	tam		(11)	bez		(14)
25.	žit'		(10)	čoek		(13)
26.	bog		(10)	što		(13)
27.	mnogo		(10)	iz		(12)
28.	tot		(10)	ga		(11)
29.	xot'		(10)	ide		(11)
30.	čem	first 30=979	(9)	ima	first 30=1043	(11)

As shown in the analysis of individual words, the full scope of lexical repetition is seen by looking also at units of approximate repetition. When such a range of units of repetition within a word class is further expanded to include all forms generating lexical likeness — that is all grammatical forms, all derivations of a word (e.g. *Bog* and various adjectival derivations), as well as cases such as grammatical homonyms (*zla*: 2. gen. sg., 2. adj. f.; *misli*: gen. pl., 3. sg. present) — the incidence of a word in the corpus becomes more prominent.

The most frequently found full-meaning verbs and nouns (occurring no fewer than 5 times), when varying grammatical forms of a particular word are taken into account are shown in the tables for most frequent verbs and nouns below.

3.5.1 Verbs

The 'verb' which is far more frequent than any other in Russ is the zero-form of 'to be'. Analogously, in Sb it is *je*, the enclitic form of *jesam*. Their negated forms (in Russ, predicative constructions with *ne*; in Sb, *nije*) are also quite frequent. The most frequent other verbs, given in the forms in which they occur in the corpus, and their frequencies are presented in the following table.

Table 3.9: Verbs with frequency of 5 or more:

Rank	Russian	Serbian
1.	**byt'** (2), budu (1), budeš' (2), budet (3), budut (1), byli (1), bylo (1), byla (2), byv (1), bud' (6); byvaet (2), byval (1)	**nema** (24)
2.	**žit'** (10), živi (4), živet (2) živ'etsja (1) / **naživeš'** (2)	**valja** (= treba) (19), se valja (3)
3.	**idti**, idet (4), (1) idut (1) idi / **podi** (3) pojdet (2)	**može** (17), se može (1)
4.	**bit'** (1) b'et (4), bej (2) b'jut (1) bija (1)	**ide, ima** (11)
5.	**govorit'** (2), govori (3),	**hoće** (7), se hoće (3)
6.	**kupit'** (1), kupiš' (4),	**zna** (9)
7.		**dođe, čuva** (se), **boji** (se) (6)
8.		**poznaje, nada se** (5)

Fewer verbs (6), and in **diverse** forms, are frequent in Russ than in Sb, where there are more verbs (11), occurring in the **same** form. The only formal variation in Sb is the reflexive form. In addition, Sb verbs are found with greater frequency than the Russ ones occupying the same ranks. It is surprising that the list for Russ does not include an equivalent for *nema*, the most frequent Sb verb in the list. Expressions of absence of something are curiously infrequent in Russ; such predicative constructions with *ne* are found only in four proverbs (70, 91, 254, 430).

Perfective verbs are at the bottom of the list and are few, two in Russ (*kupit'*, *pojti*) and one in Sb (*dođe*). This coincides with the fact that

imperfective verbs are more prominent in the discourse in general, as indicated by their twice as high frequency in repetition as for perfective verbs, both in Russ and Sb (see 4.7).

The most striking difference, however, between Russ and Sb is in the semantics of these verbs. That is, there is only one verb which occurs both in the Russ and Sb list (if the derivations with the stem *id-* are considered the same verb). This is a curious difference and should be investigated in a comparison of larger frequency indices for the two languages. This, however, will remain as a topic for investigation at some other point.

The devices and patterns of repetition which have been in the focus of the discussion in this chapter so far do not, of course, identify all the variation in forms of repetition at this linguistic level, nor do the statistics express their cumulative repetition. In the morphological-lexical borderline area in particular, there are certain varieties particularly worth investigating. One is morphological repetition, and another is play on words, although their overlapping is important. Part of the former is accounted for in this thesis in the discussion of word-initial alliteration (2.3.2), e.g., repetition of *sv-* in Sb 402, 403, 404, 405, 441, and rhyme (2.7), as in Russ 64, 210, 265, 301, Sb 143, 148, 435.

A common form of morphological repetition creating lexical likeness, euphony, or paronomasia, and play on words/sound is seen in a successive appearance of a noun and verb sharing the same stem, as in Sb 164 *Jeko ječi a zdrav zveči*, as well as in 57, 98, 151, 183, 435 and 496, Russ 81 *Gore gorjuj, a rukami vojuj*, and also in 33, 166, 247, 263. Sometimes a two-fold manifestation of this technique is encountered, e.g., Sb 257 *Mjerom mjeri, a cijenom cijeni*. Similar two-fold use of the same morphological material in adjacent words belonging to different parts of speech is also found in Sb 27 *Bogu Božije a caru carevo*, 361 or Russ 258, 310. Examples of play on words are Russ 63, 79, 203, 286 or 494, Sb 290 *Nekome pluto tone, a nekome olovo pluta*, 8, 267, 396 or 455.

When morphological repetition is not contiguous, it is likely involved in semantic contrasting, as in Russ 329, 386 or 442.

3.5.2 Nouns

The ranks of the nouns occurring five or more times, with the total number of occurrences for each rank, regardless of case and number form — including also a diminutive for each of *den'gi, golova, um, mat', mužik* and *duša* in Russ, and 2 diminutives for *kuća* in the Sb corpus — are shown in the table below.

Table 3.10: Nouns with frequency of five and up

Russian		Serbian	
bog	(20)	Bog	(24)
beda	(14)	čoek	(18)
delo, den'gi, golova, ruka, um, žena	(11)	žena, konj, oko, pas	(14)
baba	(10)	svijet	(13)
durak, vek, vor	(9)	ruka	(12)
mir, smert'	(8)	brat, kuća, pop	(11)
čelovek, glaza, grex, jazyk, mat', svet, voda	(7)	glava, voda dan, drvo, gospodar, muka, uho, vino, zlo, n.	(9) (7)
dobro, duša, gore, muž, sobaka, vremja	(6)	gost, jezik, koza, noga, put, rep, svat, trbuh	(6)
brat, xljeb, konec, ljudi, more, mužik, sčast'e, sud, volk	(5)	car, lisica, majka, sila, srce, sunce, Turčin, vuk	(5)

The relevance of some nouns in this list for the discourse is less than that suggested by the respective frequencies since these nouns are repeated in either more than one proverb or more than once in a single proverb. In Russ, *beda* occurs three times in Russ 6 and four times in 7, *vor* repeats in three proverbs (164, 412, 456), *um* in 304 (four occurrences), and so do Sb *pas* (occurs five times in 346), *pop, muka* and *vuk* .

Some interesting aspects of the most prominent nouns are the following.

Usages of *bog*, the most frequent noun, are interesting. Rather than to denote the topic (as in Russ 19, 358, Sb 26, 307), it is more often used in elements of structure which are co-relative with the topic, such as the complementing, comparative or contrastive ones, e.g., in Russ 52, 295 or 488, Sb 316, 357, 407, 411 or 495. The topic which is most often related to *bog* is one's actions or behavior, e.g., in Russ 237 *Ne goditsja bogu molit'sja, goditsja*

gorški pokryt', 22, 103, 119, 149, 201, 236 or 487, Sb 28, 107, 113, 196, 219, 240 or 256; or 'the inevitable', such as death or wife (Russ 55, 389).
Bog is contrasted with *car'* (Russ 12, 41, Sb 24, 27) *gospodin* (Russ 17) and *čert* (Russ 22).

The top frequency nouns are in a great majority of Russ proverbs found in their nom. sg. form (or nom. pl. if pluralia tantum), that is all except *konec, pivo, ruka, svet, voda, volk*. On the other hand, the most frequent Russ verbs are not concentrated in a single dominant form but are found usually in one of the following three: infinitive, imperative and present. Tense repetition in general will be a subject of discussion in Chapter IV dealing with grammatical repetition.

3.6 Summary

The analysis in this chapter suggested three basic patterns in the repetition of words of lexical categories in a proverb, each with a distinctive effect on the structural sameness in the proverb. In addition, it provided evidence of a particular prominence of prepositions and negation in repetition, and the relative absence of conjunctions in repetition. The analysis also showed that the structure-modeling roles of repetition of the lexical words, on the one hand, and of non-lexical, on the other, are distinctive. Even though in terms of frequency of occurrence lexical repetition is less important than phonological and grammatical repetition, its overall role in the structure is both manifold and important. It can be summarized as follows.

While word repetition, particularly multiple repetition of lexical words, places an emphasis on what is denoted by the word that is repeated, several other functions of its role are more important in terms of the role of word repetition in the construction of the most typical proverbial structure.

The first and most important role of lexical repetition is seen in its association with the two most prominent structural features, that is, parallelism and contrast. For instance, noticeable in most verb-pairs bound by repetition is contrastive or antithetical semantics of the prefixes and the contrastive repetition of Sb *je*, with a negation in the second occurrence. The introduction of a prefix or negation in verb and noun repetition, or the change of prefix or aspect among the repeated verbs is one of the formal

markers of a proverb modelled after one of the structural formulae of parallelism and comparison or contrast (see 4.8). The important role of lexical repetition in modeling the formulae of structural parallelism and contrast/comparison is an important finding about the construction of proverbial discourse structure. Not only does word repetition affect the formal structure, but it is reflected in the semantic structure as well, and even in its most fundamental models.

In addition, an important characteristic of the mutual relationship between structural parallelism and semantic contrast is revealed in the role of the semantics of verbs and nouns involved in the pattern termed approximate repetition. While on the surface semantic contrast occurs as an 'ingredient' in structural parallelism, it is actually the perceived contrast in the underlying semantic relationship between two concepts that to a relevant degree imposes syntactic parallelism in the structure of the utterance. In this respect, the two features, which characteristically enough occur simultaneously, are a result of a typical binarism in the perception of the oral culture as the creator of proverbs.

Cohesion is another important role in which word repetition is found to occur. This is particularly the case with the repetition of negative particles and prepositions. Significantly, prepositions are repeated more frequently than any other lexical category in its exact form. Cohesion based on repetition is especially pronounced when the repeated words occur in parallelism, which is indeed the form in which repetition of prepositions is most often found to occur. It is interesting that repetition of prepositions is found to be employed in a similar manner in the Russian lament (Arant 1973:1-3), and also with a similar frequency of occurrence (approximately in 9% of lines, compared to our 10.8% in Russ and 7.6% in Sb).

Since lexical items are carriers of certain grammatical meanings, word repetition is often associated with other devices of repetition, such as grammatical categories of words with which the repeated word collocates. Repetition of the same word class is a particularly common type found in cumulative repetition, i.e., in the repetition of several devices in a single proverb. As grammatical repetition is examined in Chapter IV, at this point just a few examples suffice to illustrate the interdependable interlacing of a variety of multi-level linguistic devices of repetition (see also sample analyses in 2.8 in the preceding chapter).

In Sb 8, for instance, many devices at all levels can be found. In other examples, e.g. in Sb 30, which shows repetition of adjectival class with number and gender repetition, reflexive pres., with person and number repeated as well; in Sb 32, mass noun, and past passive participle, both with repetition of case, gender and number, accompanied by rhyme; in Sb 33, two repetitions of the same word class (one with the same word altered with a prefix), both involving repetition of case, gender and number.

Word repetition also means grammatical repetition. The latter is, however, much more often encountered apart from word repetition, and often in proverbs in which no word repetition is found. While repetition of number and (nominal) gender has been occasionally commented on in this chapter, in Chapter IV repetition of case (and number), tense (gender and number), and of verbal aspect receive special attention.

Lexical repetition also resembles, in terms of euphony as an effect, a more important repetition: the one found in the form of rhyme. Repetition of words and word stems is a vehicle through which internal rhyme of a kind is created, which in its best examples results, especially when found in association with phonological devices of repetition, in a musical quality in the form of euphony or paronomasia. Rhyme, which was discussed in detail in Chapter II, and lexical repetition are, however, examined in this thesis as distinctive devices of repetition.

At the level of discourse incidence of lexical items, the following typical features should be emphasized.

Proverbs are generated in the 'common folk's' register, i.e., in the vernacular. Consequently, the most characteristic feature of proverbial lexis — taken in its literal, rather than tropic, meaning — is 'commonness': the most frequent are words for humans, human body terms, nature, religion, common concepts of one's well-being, and animals (see 3.5.2 above and Table 3.8).

In the perception and thought of the common (traditional, belonging to the oral culture) Russian and Serbian person, the world is anthropomorphic. The most important other participants are God and certain 'classes' of humans, nature and animals surrounding him.

With respect to reference to humans, the relationship between man and woman is the most important to the creator of proverbs both in Russian and Serbian oral culture, as nouns denoting 'woman', 'wife' and 'man' such

as *žena, baba, muž, mužik* in the former, and *čoek* and *žena* in the latter, are not only prominent, but usually co-occur in the same proverb. There are found, however, certain interesting lexical differences between Russ and Sb which point at differences in what the speakers in the proverbial communication are preoccupied with. Of an equal importance to the Russ speaker are three ideas which are not found in the top frequency nouns in Sb: 'misfortune' (*beda*), 'work' (*delo*) and 'money' (*den'gi*). Considering other humans, Russ proverbs most often concentrate, in addition to man and woman, on *durak, vor* and *brat*, while the Sb ones chose *brat, pop, gospodar* and *gost*. To make just one more comparison, while the only prominent animals in Russ proverbs are dog and wolf, in the Sb ones it is horse and dog (the word *pas* 'dog' is equally frequent but occurs five times in single proverb), mentioned with a much greater frequency than dog in Russ, and also goat, fox and wolf.

The elementary contours of the picture of the world as interpreted through the analysis of the most prominent words needs, however, to be reconsidered in light of a very important factor concerning the semantics of these words in the actual use in the proverb. This factor is trope, at two levels, lexical and textual. In other words, the fact that very often certain words (usually nouns or verbs) are used as a trope, most often metaphor or metonymy — in which case often the whole proverb becomes a trope — means that a sociolinguistic interpretation of the prominent vocabulary, or a semantic one for that matter, should also necessarily be undertaken having this parallel semiosis in mind.

The major difficulty such an interpretation faces is the nature of a trope other than the lexicalized one. Trope, especially metaphor, and the 'poetic' trope in particular, is highly dependent on the connotative associations that an individual recipient may establish in decoding a message between its constituents and extra-linguistic realia that are distinct from those denoted by the denotative association of the signifier and the signified.

Chapter IV

Repetition of grammatical categories and semantic-syntactic patterns ('formulae')

4.1 Introduction

In the preceding two chapters we examined frequencies of occurrence and discourse roles of various patterns in repetition of linguistic units. The analysis centered there primarily on assonance, alliteration, rhyme, repetition of consonant-vowel and syllable patterns and of words according to parts of speech.

In this chapter the focus is instead, on the one hand, mainly on grammatical categories, rather than on particular individual units, and on syntactic-semantic patterns, on the other.

An initial survey pointed to tense/mood (henceforth, tense[27]), verbal aspect and nominal case as the most prominent grammatical categories found to occur in repetition. Attention is therefore devoted, in the first instance, to repetition of these three categories. The focus is further narrowed by examining tense, verbal aspect and case in relation to repetition of number and gender.

These categories came occasionally to our attention in association with lexical repetition that was discussed in the preceding chapter. In the first part of this chapter, the overall incidence of repetition of case, tense and aspect is computed and discussed, and then the role of this grammatical repetition in a proverb is described.

The second part of this chapter discusses syntactic-semantic structures and patterns which are found to occur with high enough frequency to justify their being considered a cliché, or formula. This search for formulaic syntactic-semantic structures consequently means that only the most fundamental structures are examined.

Since the analysis so far has most frequently pointed at structural parallelism and semantic contrast as salient characteristics of structure, the

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[27]As both tense and mood represent repetition of a verbal category, I shall use tense to refer to either.

formulae are sought and examined in the relationships between, on the one hand, comparative, contrastive and cause-effect semantic structures, and, on the other, modeling of syntactic parallelism.

I approach grammatical repetition as defined here with the same understanding that guided the analysis at the phonological and lexical levels, i.e., that repetition creating sameness, or likeness, and simplicity of units and grammatical structures plays an important role in the modeling of the distinctive structure of the proverb.

4.2 A previous study of grammatical repetition in Russ

Grammatical repetition in Russian proverbs is extensively studied in another doctoral thesis (Levin 1964). No such study, to the best of my knowledge, is available for Serbian proverbs. Four forms of grammatical repetition at the word (unit) level are analyzed in Levin's study, namely: 1) the same word in different categories (polyptoton), 2) the same root in different words, 3) the same affix in words with different roots, and 4) repetition of a declensional or conjugational type (1964:66-119). The first and the second form are analyzed in this thesis in Chapter III, while the third one is dealt with in the investigation of rhyme in 2.7.

Levin, thus, examines grammatical repetition primarily as repetition of grammatical properties of morphological constituents of words. Above the word level, he distinguishes and describes three types of grammatical formulae: correlative, contrastive and conjunctive. The three grammatical formulae as defined by Levin are the starting point of the discussion in 4.8 below.

4.3 The objective and main hypotheses

Even though no such comprehensive study of the above introduced varieties of grammatical repetition as conducted in Levin 1964 has been done on a Serbian corpus, the emphasis in this chapter is on forms of grammatical repetition that remained beyond Levin's attention.

The objective is to examine grammatical repetition at more abstract levels of structure, the level of grammatical categories, and the level of basic semantic-syntactic patterns. Even though I refer, alternatively, to the latter

using the same term, 'formulae', the structural level at which formulae are sought is more general than that applied in Levin 1964.

Both the quantificational and functional aspects of repetition are, as in the discussion so far, the main concern in the analysis of grammatical repetition. The examination is thus guided by the following question: What is the extent to which grammatical repetition of the chosen categories and patterns occurs in the corpus, and what are the most salient functions of such repetition in the proverb?

Three particular and one general hypotheses concerning the repetition of grammatical categories are proposed. One particular hypothesis is that grammatical repetition occurs more often than does lexical repetition. Another one is that most of the repetition in each of the examined categories occurs in the form of a single tense, aspect, case, person or number. The third is that a simultaneous (combined) repetition of a particular tense, number and person, on the one hand, and of case and number, on the other — as grammatical properties of a single word unit — is frequent.

A general hypothesis is that grammatical repetition is closely related to structural parallelism in the bipartite proverbs, particularly in the syntax, as indications of the importance of this feature were often found in the analysis of phonological and lexical repetition.

As for the repetition of syntactic-semantic patterns, it is expected that the relatively high frequency of certain patterns in the corpus, on the one hand, and mutual similarity of the basic structure of such patterns, on the other, will justify the frequent claims in literature that the proverb has a formulaic structure (for instance, Dundes 1975, Finnegan 1976). An effort is thus made to find out what exactly these structural formulae are.

As in the previous chapters, prior to analyzing grammatical repetition, I present a quantificational analysis of a particular structural unit. The results of these analyses serve as a statistical background in evaluating the findings about repetition later. In this chapter, it is the length of the proverb in terms of number of clauses that is investigated.

4.4 Frequencies in the clause/sentence relationship

In the section that follows, I examine the frequencies in the number of clauses per sentence. Examining the number of clauses per sentence (i.e., proverb) is a way to obtain a measure of the relative syntactic length and simplicity or complexity of a proverb, in addition to measuring structural possibilities for grammatical repetition in the corpus. Clause is understood as a predicative syntactic structure.

Let us take a look at the results as presented in the two bar-charts below:

Chart 4.1: The clause/sentence relationship frequencies in Russian

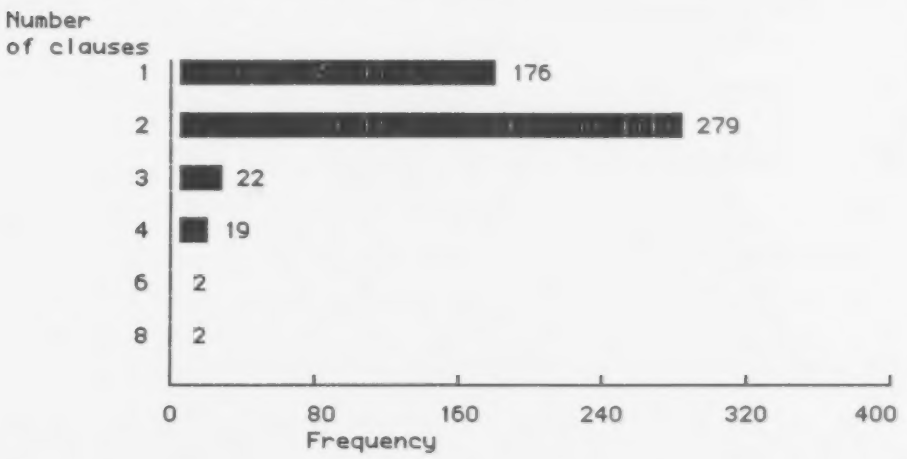
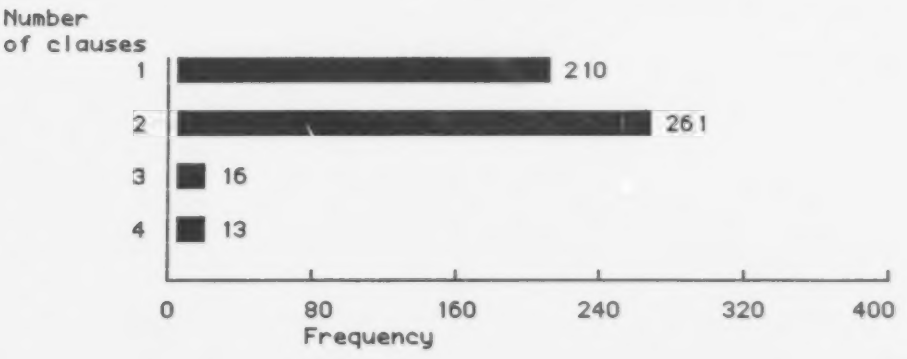


Chart 4.2: The clause/sentence relationship frequencies in Serbian



The statistics show, in the first instance, that over half of the proverbs in the corpus consist of **two clauses**, both in Russ (55.8%) and in Sb (52.2%).

This number is likely to be associated with the noted bipropositional segmentation of the proverb, on the one hand, and with repetition in general, as well as with grammatical repetition in particular, on the other. Proverbs consisting of only one clause are the second most frequently occurring syntactic length: out of all proverbs, the monoclausal ones make up 35.2% in Russ and 42% Sb. As these constitute a large portion of all proverbs, it will be interesting to see in the analysis below whether monoclausal proverbs show some kind of segmentation into two parts.

While Sb has 7% more monoclausal proverbs than does Russ, the cumulative percentage for proverbs with either one or two clauses is similar for Russ (91%) and Sb (94.2%). A difference worth noting is that Russ tolerates higher numbers of clauses in a proverb than does Sb, and has higher frequency of occurrence in each length value from two up than does Sb. A similar correlation was found in comparing Russ and Sb for word syllable length (see 2.6.1).

This pronounced syntactic brevity and simplicity corresponds to the already noted brevity in terms of number of words per proverb, as was shown in 3.3 (a little over 90% of all proverbs have 9 or fewer words, most frequently 5 or 6 words, both in Russ and Sb).

Let us, finally, take a look at the statistics for the co-occurrences of a particular number of words and clauses per proverb in the two tables below.

When frequencies of one per cent and up are considered, the following figures express some noticeable relationships between the two factors in the two charts above. Firstly, the maximum number of words in single-clause proverbs is eight in Russ and nine in Sb, while the minimum number of words in two-clause proverbs is four in both languages. In other words, the proverbs having more than 8/9 words consist of two clauses, and proverbs having fewer than 4 words consist of a single clause. Secondly, all co-occurrences of a particular number of words and clauses among the clauses occurring with the one per cent and up frequency are found within the following frame: single-clause proverb — 3 to 8 words in Russ, 2 to 9 words in Sb; two-clause proverb — 4 to 11 words both in Russ and Sb.

Thus, in a conclusion, this insight into the word/clause relationship in a proverb confirms that brevity and syntactic simplicity of the proverb as sentence are its pronounced features, as this is what is found in the majority of the proverbs in the corpus.

Table 4.1: Co-occurrences in number of words and clauses in Russian

WORD by CLAUSE

Count	CLAUSE 1	2	3	4	6	8	Row Total
WORD							
3	26	2					28 5.6%
4	47	20		2			69 13.8%
5	55	59					114 22.8%
6	26	62	2				90 18.0%
7	12	68	4	1			85 17.0%
8	8	38	3	3			52 10.4%
9		8	3	6			17 3.4%
10	1	13	4				18 3.6%
11		5	2	3	1		11 2.2%
12		2	3	1		1	7 1.4%
13		1	1	1			3 .6%
14				1	1		2 .4%
15		1		1			2 .4%
17	1						1 .2%
26						1	1 .2%
Column Total	176 35.2	279 55.8	22 4.4	19 3.8	2 .4	2 .4	500 100.0

Table 4.2: Co-occurrences in number of words and clauses in Serbian

WORD by CLAUSE

WORD	Count	CLAUSE 1	2	3	4	Row Total
	2	3				3 .6%
	3	20				20 4.0$
	4	56	8			64 12.8%
	5	57	31			88 17.6%
	6	34	52			86 17.2%
	7	25	44	2	1	72 14.4%
	8	9	57	2	3	71 14.2%
	9	6	39	2	1	48 9.6%
	10		13	3	1	17 3.4%
	11		8		3	11 2.2%
	12		4	3	2	9 1.8%
	13		2		1	3 .6%
	14		1	3	1	5 1.0%
	15		1	1		2 .4%
	17		1			1 .2%
	Column Total	210 42.0	261 52.2	16 3.2	13 2.6	500 100.0

4.5 Case

In the analysis of repetition of nominal case and number I focus on those proverbs in which there is an identity of both case and number in at least two nouns. I thus ignore repetition of case in which grammatical number remains distinct. The reason for this limitation is the fact that the identity of both case and number bears greater similarity of the nouns at two levels — grammatical and phonological — than does repetition of just the case. This in turn translates into a high probability that the nouns with identical case and number are syntactically parallel, which indeed is the case, as we shall see below.

The frequency and percentage for all combinations of case and number found in repetition in approximately one percent or more of proverbs (shown in the column "Value") are presented in Table 4.3 below. The first letter in the labels for values indicates case, the second indicates number, except for: NA = not applied (i.e., fewer than two nouns in the proverb), NR = no repetition (i.e., two or more nouns in the proverb, but no case + number repetition), and NN, which refer to a two-fold nom. repetition in singular; and AN (two nouns in acc. sg. and two nouns in nom. sg./pl.).

Table 4.3: Repetition of case and number associations

Russian			Serbian		
Value	Freq.	%	Value	Freq.	%
NS	88	17.6	NS	103	20.6
AS	28	5.6	GS	27	5.4
GS	18	3.6	AS	10	2.0
IS	10	2.0	DS	10	2.0
NP	8	1.6	NP	10	2.0
AN	6	1.2	AN	7	1.4
DS	5	1.0	IS	6	1.2
LS	4	0.8	NN	5	1.0
NA	178	35.6	NR	161	32.2
NR	135	27.0	NA	141	28.2

The two most prominent features in repetition of nominal case and number are: firstly, an overwhelming predominance of the singular number, and secondly, of nominative case. The former feature applies similarly to both Russ and Sb: in 88 per cent of all Russ proverbs with case and number

repetition, and 86% of Sb proverbs, it is one of the singular cases that is found to repeat. There is found repetition of nominative in more than half of these proverbs, that is, in 51% of all Russ proverbs in which the same nominal case and number are repeated, and in 60% of such proverbs in Sb.

The difference in frequency of occurrence between proverbs with repetition of nom. sg. and proverbs with repetition of all other singular cases is more pronounced in Sb than in Russ. In proverbs with repetition of singular cases, nom. makes up 60% in Sb, compared with 34% for all other singular cases, while in Russ 53% of all repetitions in singular are those of nom. case, compared with 41% for all other cases in singular. In each part of the corpus, the remaining 5-6% of proverbs with repetition of the singular have a two-fold singular case repetition: once of nom. and once of another case.

Not surprisingly, following nominative sg., most often repeated cases are accusative and genitive, although with reverse ranks in Russ and Sb. Another predictable difference between Russ and Sb is found in the association of instrumental with Russ and of dative with Sb.

Frequency relationships between singular and plural, and between single and two-fold repetition are illustrated in the following table.

Table 4.4: Repetition of case and number in nouns

		Russian		Serbian	
		single	two-fold	single	two-fold
singular	nominative	88		103	
singular	nom+oblique case		9		10
singular	oblique case	65	3	55	3
plural	nominative	8		10	
plural	oblique case	8		5	
sg.+pl.	nominative				5
sg.+pl.	nom+oblique case		6		5
sg.+pl.	oblique case				2
total		**169**	**18**	**173**	**25**

The figures in the table need to be interpreted in relation to corpus frequency of the occurrence of nouns per proverb. Occurrence of a single noun or no nouns at all is a feature of 33% of Russ proverbs, and 27% of Sb proverbs. These percentages indicate the share of proverbs in which there is no chance for case + number repetition in nouns in respective parts of the

corpus. Hence, the relative importance of the percentages of proverbs in which repetition does occur is greater than the numbers indicate. The calculation accounting for this factor is based on the following. Since the total number of Russ proverbs with two or more nouns is 333, and repetition of case + number is found in 187 of these, it follows that this grammatical repetition takes place in 56% of Russ proverbs in which there is a possibility for it to occur. Calculated the same way, this percentage in Sb is 54 (i.e., there is a possibility of occurrence in 365 proverbs, and it is realized in 198 of these).

Overall, repetition of the same case + number is slightly more frequent in Sb than in Russ. On the other hand, the percentage of proverbs having two or more nouns is smaller in Russ than in Sb, which seems to compensate for the former difference.

Let us now sum up, in the two charts below, the most relevant figures that have just been discussed. The charts display only combinations of case and number appearing in repetition in five or more proverbs. The legend for the labels is the same as for Table 4.4 above.

Case repetition, especially its frequency of occurrence at the discourse level, is also a revealing instrument in the study of proverbial semantics. For instance, the fact that the word 'woman', among the five most frequent nouns in Sb, is always found in accusative singular form, *ženu* — while the other four nouns: *Bog, čoek, pas* and *zlo* (the first three masculine, the last neuter) are always in nominative singular — identifies 'woman' as a semantic patient in the discourse. Aspects of grammatical repetition such as this one are relevant topics for further study, as semantic repetition remains beyond the focus of this thesis.

Finally, let us point out that the overall extent of case and person repetition in the corpus is larger than the data for nouns, the most frequent lexical category, show. Case repetition is both in Russ and Sb often found particularly in the nominal use of adjectives, in Russ 14, 20, 36, 40, 73, 115, 178, 180, 321, 360, 422, 425, 432, 434, 477, in Sb 33, 43, 110, 159 and others. Understandably, syntactically dependent adjectives in nominal syntagms show the same case, number and often also gender repetition which is found in the superordinated nouns, and the number of such instances is high, particularly with possessive and descriptive adjectives (e.g., Sb 20, 32, 45, 79, 97, and so on).

Chart 4.3 : Case and number repetition in Russian

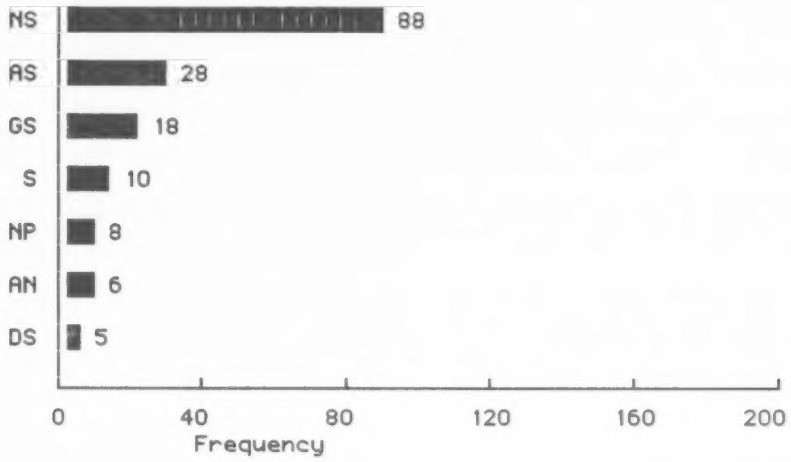
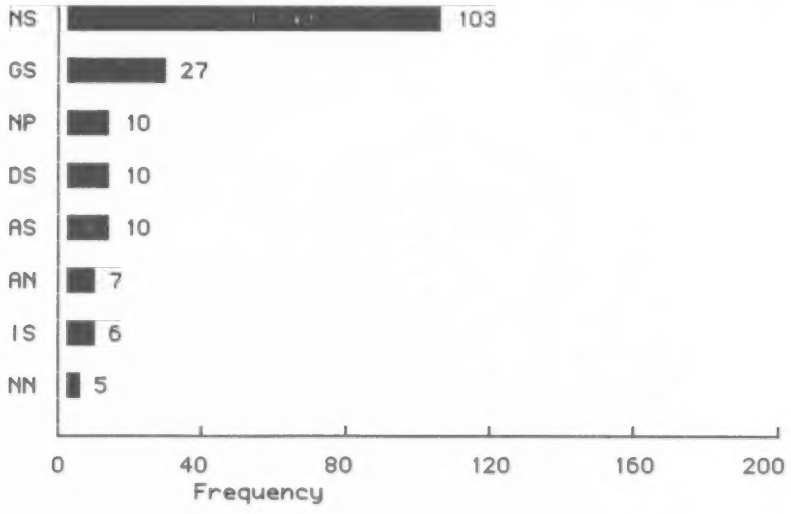


Chart 4.4 : Case and number repetition in Serbian



4.6 Tense and mood

In this section, I refer by 'tense' to either tense or mood (imperative, infinitive, conditional), as they both represent repetition (in a proverb) at the same level of grammar, i.e., repetition of a verbal category.

The same tense repetition occurs in 54.4 per cent of all Russ proverbs and in 50.7 per cent of all Sb proverbs.

Present is the tense that is found in repetition in a single proverb much more often than all other tenses combined: repetition of present makes up 31.6% and 38% of all tense repetitions in Russ and Sb, respectively, while all other tenses in repetition combined make up 22% in Russ[28] and 12.7% in Sb. The prominence of present in repetition is thus more pronounced in Sb, where its repetition is more than three times as frequent as repetition of all other tenses together.

Moreover, repetition of present tense in a proverb as a rule also involves repetition of a particular person **and** number. Different number, and less often person, in present tense repetition is an exception: it is found in merely a handful of proverbs each in Russ and Sb. It is the simultaneous repetition of all three that is shown in the figures for present tense in the graph below. In other tenses too, person and number are normally repeated, but no differentiation is shown in the statistics because the numbers are small.

Repetition of tense, and repetition of various combinations of person and number in present tense, are shown in the two charts below displaying only values with frequency of five and up.

---

[28]I found it difficult to assign tense to 13 proverbs in Russ and 4 in Sb with repetition of zero-form verb, e.g., 458 *Vremenem v gorku, a vremenem v norku*, and labeled these cases 'undecided tense'. In most of these proverbs, however, the implied predicate appears to be either in present tense or imperative.

Chart 4.5: Repetition of tense/mood and person in Russian

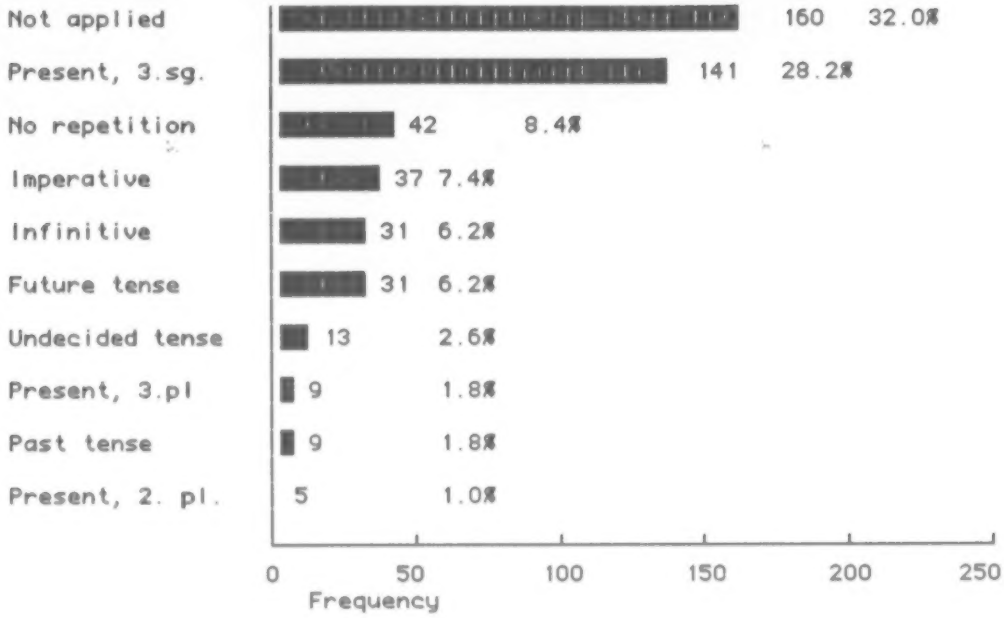
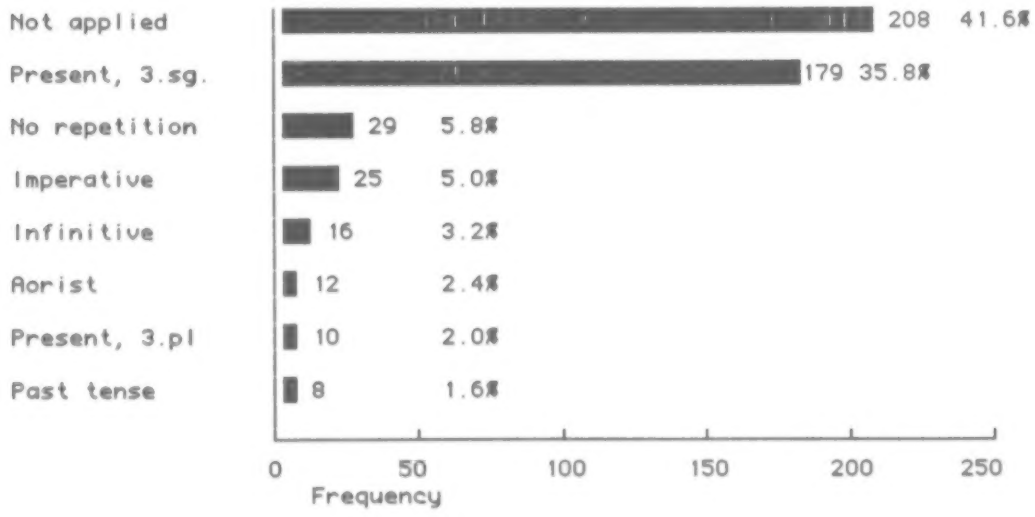


Chart 4.6: Repetition of tense/mood and person in Serbian



As can be seen in the graphs, in addition to present (in Russ, imperfective), there are three other tenses each in Russ and Sb that are found to repeat in at least two per cent of all proverbs: imperative and infinitive are common to both languages, while future (present perfective for future, in fact) is specific for Russ, and aorist for Sb.

Infinitive is characteristically used in proverbs with a better A than B structural pattern: if there is a verb in such proverbs, it appears usually in the pattern *bolje* inf. *nego* inf., e.g., Sb 35, 36, 37. Another pattern that in the Sb corpus always employs the infinitive is it is easy to + inf./it is easier to + inf. than to + inf., e.g., in Sb 236-239.

Several interesting instances of the Sb aorist formally resembling present tense of secondary perfectives are found in repetition. In 3. pers. sg. of certain, primarily *i*-stem, verbs the aorist is identical in form with perfective present tense of the same verbs. The only distinction between them is in the accentual pattern. Sometimes, as in Sb 7 *Ako ne načuva, ne nateče,* as well as in 212 and 213, the context permits either a present or aorist reading of the forms. However, other proverbs of the same *ne ... ne* pattern — such as Sb 3, in which the desinence in *izlaja* is distinct from that in present tense (*izlaje*) — show that these proverbs count on the stylistic markedness of the aorist, and perhaps also on the completedness of the action conveyed by it, rather than on present tense. These proverbs therefore show a typical association of negation and aorist. A two-fold use of the negated aorist in a two-clause proverb with cause-effect structure is also seen (in relative, atemporal use, of course) in Sb 278, 279 and 299. Negation in nominal derivation and the aorist are also found in the same two-fold association in Sb 296 and 297.

The rare multiple present occurring without a complete identity of person and number can be quite effective. For example, in Sb 431 *Sunce grije, Kiša ide, Vještice se legu,* repetition of nom. sg. and 3. pers. sg. pres. in the first two clauses is followed by the same case and tense + person in the third clause of identical structure, but the general shift from singular to plural, and from one semantic field (*sunce, kiša,* events in nature; *vještice,* mythical beings; and similarly in the three verbs) in the final clause contrasts the repetitive singular in the preceding two clauses, thus creating the effect of betrayed expectation. Further contrast between the first two clauses and the final one, with a culminative effect, is realized in the syllabic length of pronunciation units and clauses (2-2/2-2/3-3), and in the appearance of reflexive form in the final verb.

It should be emphasized that a large number of proverbs have no verbal words at all. These proverbs, marked by predicate elision, are either monoclausal and polyclausal. The latter type in Sb is characterized, almost with no exception, by implied identical two-fold predication, comprising

approximately 6% of all proverbs. In the majority of such cases, it is the enclitic form of present tense 3. pers. sg. of *jesam*, that is *je*, e.g., Sb 70 *Daleko od očiju daleko od srca*, and in a few proverbs also imperative.

Finally, there are proverbs in which more than two verbs are found with a matching sameness in the tense + person + number association.

Repetition of two verbal categories is found in various associations, e.g., in Russ: imperative and present in 123; imperative and future in 124; imperative and infinitive in 263; participle and present in 169; present and infinitive in 44, 237; past and present in 381; past and infinitive, 433.

Examples of proverbs with three or four verbs sharing the same grammatical properties are the following: in Russ, with three verbs, e.g., 3. sg. present tense, 409; 3. pl. present tense, 53; 3. sg. past tense masculine, 119; 3. sg. past tense: two feminine, one masculine, 198; 2. sg. future, 82, 228, 262, 300, 362; 3. sg. future, 296; infinitive, 258 (also present adverbial participle), 259, 330, 402; imperative, 331, 375. There are also such interesting cases as a four-clause proverb in which each clause consists only of a verb, e.g., with 3. sg. reflexive present in Russ 121 *Živetsja — poetsja; umiraetsja — drjagaetsja*; or in 2. sg. present in Russ 167 *Kupiš — platiš, prodaeš — plačeš*; or also in 195. Other proverbs with four identical verbal tenses in Russ include 83, 269, 335, 431, 457. Unique are Russ 128 and 474, with sequences of seven and eight verbs in 3. sg. perfective present/future, and imperative, respectively, and also 306 and 324, both with six imperatives in 2. sg.

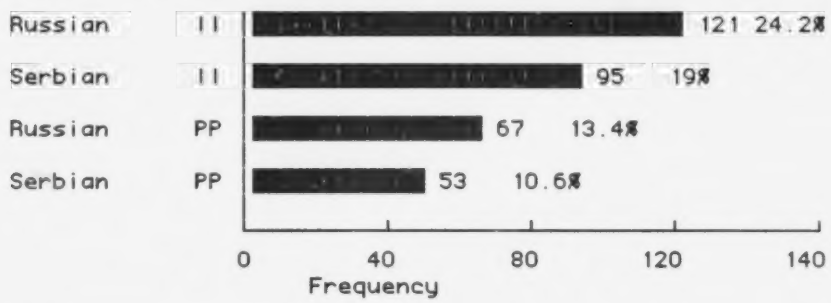
Multiple repetition of tense stems sometimes, fully or partially, from verb repetition, as in Sb 101 *Đevojka se svatovima nada, Udovica nada i ne nada, Stara baba zaista ne nada*, 170, 190, 195, 218, 291, 303, (*nesta*, aorist, is used four times), 313, 361 (imp. ellipsis), 363 (*pođi*, imperative, is used four times), 487 (parallelism in non-reflexive — reflexive), 500 (present — inf.). As in these examples above, multiple occurrence of a verbal category is as a rule marked by either the sameness of tense or by two verb-pairs with parallelism in tense + person + number.

4.7 Aspect

In numerous examples given in the preceding three chapters and in those illustrating repetition of tense above, it may be noticed that the multiple occurrence of verbs in a proverb is normally marked by identity not only in tense, but in aspect as well.

In this section I give the statistics for the repetitions of aspect in the corpus and discuss the most important semantic-syntactic features that are associated with such repetition. The figures for the corpus frequency of at least double occurrence of the same aspect in a single proverb, including verbal ellipsis, are presented in the chart that follows. The two symbols in the chart refer to any number of occurrence of a particular aspect in repetition: II = repetition of imperfective aspect, and PP = repetition of perfective aspect.

Chart 4.7: Repetition of verbal aspect in Russian and Serbian



The first relationship to note is that imperfective is repeated almost twice as often as perfective both in Russ and Sb. As is the case with nominative (singular) and present tense (third person), the correspondence between both high incidence and repetition of imperfective verbal aspect and the pragmatic aspects of proverbial communication (see 1.3) is more than obvious.

Additionally, while there is overall slightly more repetition in the Russ corpus, it is more important to emphasize that there is no chance for the repetition of aspect to occur in more than a half of Russ proverbs in the corpus and approximately half of the Sb ones, since those proverbs either do not have any verbs or have a single verb, or a nominal predicate. Consequently, where there are conditions for it to occur, i.e., at least two verbal categories, repetition of aspect as a rule occurs.

As in the repetition of other devices, there are found multiple occurrences of identical aspect, in Russ: 3 perfectives in 82, 119, 195, 198, 228, 258, 259, 262, 296, 300, 331, 362, 402, 3 imperfectives in 53, 121, 166, 237, 250, 258, 409, 4 perfectives in 224, 269, 335, 381, 431, 4 imperfectives in 44, 83, 112, 169, 263, 457, 6 imperfectives in 306, 6 perfectives in 324, 7 perfectives in 128 and 8 imperfectives in 474. Most of these proverbs are cited and commented on with regard to either verb or tense repetition. Multiple identity of aspect, imperfective present, is in Sb is found only in two proverbs, the decasyllabic distich in 356 and in the triple-clause 431. The reason lies in the fact that in Sb there are no proverbs with distinctive multiple verbs. Other than the two proverbs just mentioned, there are five more but all with verb repetition (1, 101, 218, 303 and 363).

Some Russ proverbs, in addition to the identity of aspect in two verbs, do include one or more verbs with the opposite aspect, or the (aspectually unpaired) zero-form of *est'*. In the Russ corpus the proverbs with one of four combinations that occur include: repeated imperfective + perfective: 1, 123, 150, 237, repeated imperfective + zero-form of *est'*: 333, 366, 412, repeated perfective + imperfective: 7, 195, 259, 317, 330, 368, 375, and repeated perfective + zero-form of *est'*: 55, 73, 80, 82, 128, 191, 198, 269, 338.

Let us conclude by mentioning one interesting role of a proverbial trope in the creation of aspectual sameness. For instance, metaphorical meaning of a verb causes a change of aspect which then results in repetition of aspect. Metaphorical decoding of the second, imperfective verb in Sb 12 *Ako Turčin pogine, buli drugi ne gine* changes its aspect to perfective, i.e., something like *(...) bula drugog dobije/nađe*. In the same process a verbal metaphor in Sb 96 changes aspect of the second, perfective, verb to imperfective. Cases such as these are counted with the aspectual meaning acquired in the proverb.

Further explanation of repetition of aspect in relation to repetition of other grammatical categories that are analyzed in this chapter follows in the next section.

4.8 Sources and effects of grammatical repetition

Nominal case, tense and aspect identity emerge primarily from sameness of the subject in two clauses, or co-relatedness of two subjects, or of another syntactic participant(s), on the one hand, and from repetition of the predicate, or from sameness of the temporal level of co-related predications, on the other.

The prominence of grammatical repetition is explained by the communicational nature of the proverb, that is by the fact that the proverb is typically a generalizing statement about something other than the speaker and the listener; hence, typically has subject in nominative, predicate in present tense third person singular, as well as the verb *jesam* or its Russ equivalent. On the other hand, these features stem from the fundamental internal composition of the structure, which usually relates a concept A with a concept B, or relates two aspects concerning a single concept.

For this reason, grammatical sameness is reflected in various forms of syntactic parallelism, the source of which is usually in one of the following three general semantic patterns in expressions relating two ideas to one another: 1) contrast, 2) comparative correlation, and 3) cause-effect.

The semantic and syntactic characteristics of all three patterns are analyzed in detail in the discussion of the structural formulae of parallelism in 4.9.2 below. Therefore, I shall here only exemplify the simultaneous occurrence of more than one grammatical category in repetition, which has also occasionally already been the subject of the preceding discussion of each grammatical category. The examples below are selected so as to also illustrate elliptic grammatical repetition, as well as case repetition **apart** from the nominal category, e.g. in repetition of adjectives, since the latter has remained beyond the focus of the present study.

Some examples of multiple grammatical repetition in the contrastive, syntactically parallel, coordinative structure with conjunction *a/da* (Russ), and *a/ali* (Sb) are: in Russ, 36 *Den'gi idut k bogatomu, a zlydni k ubogomu* (verb ellipsis), 42 *Dobraja žena — vesel'e, a xudaja — zloe zel'e* (zero-form verb, noun/subject ellipsis in the second clause), 195 *Molviš — ne vorotiš, a pljuneš — ne podymeš*, 30 *Cerkov' grabit, da kolokol'nju kroet* (subject ellipsis in the second clause); in Sb, 43 *Budale kuće zidaju, a mudri ih kupuju* (noun repetition in the form of pronominal complement substitution in the

second clause, i.e., *ih* for *kuće*), 71 *Danas jesmo, a sjutra nijesmo* (zero-form of an implicit subject, i.e., *mi* also repeated), 159 *Jačega kapom a nejačega šakom* (zero-form of an implicit predicate also repeated), 366 *Po ocu se poznaje sin, a po majci šći* (predicate ellipsis in the second clause).

Examples of grammatical repetition in the same pattern but with juxtaposition are: in Russ, 49 *Dorogo da milo, deševo da gnilo,* and 77 *Golodnomu vzdyxaetsja, sytomu otrygaetsja;* and, less frequently, in Sb, 124 *Zbori pravo, sjedi đe ti drago,* 138 *Iza zime toplo, iza kiše sunce.*

In the correlative-comparative pattern with a relative-demonstrative word-pair some examples are: in Russ, 148 *Kto dobro tvorit, togo zlo ne vredit,* or 88 *Čego ne poiščeš, togo ne syščeš;* in Sb, 417 *S kim te vide s tijem te i pišu,* or 105 *Đe laža omrkla tu i osvanula* (noun ellipsis).

The effects of tense, case and aspect repetition in a proverb are manifold: it contributes to the sameness and simplicity of grammatical structure, syntactic and grammatical parallelism in general, generates and supports semantic contrast, and provides cohesion. All this results in a pronounced compactness of a formulaic structure.

The issue of patterns or 'formulae' in proverbs is in the available literature more assumed than investigated, and therefore receives further attention in the following section.

4.9 The formulae

4.9.1 The 'formulae' and how to define them

In this section I address the issue of the nature of structural 'formulae' and the relationships between repetition, bipartiteness, and the formulae in proverbs.

The widely noted cliché nature of proverbs is in the literature fondly referred to as 'formulaic'. The formulae are usually found in various lexical markers of the noted bipartite structure of proverbs. The emphasis on the lexical criterion in defining the formulae seems to follow the early Parry's definition of the formula in epic oral poetry, as "a group of words which is regularly employed under the same metrical conditions to express a given essential idea" (quoted from Stolz and Shannon 1976:ix). According to Stolz, that definition has, however, been "expanded, revised, and rejected at various

times" (ix-x), and also "definitions appropriate to one genre have been rejected on the basis of evidence gathered from an entirely different genre" (x).

Paremiologists are usually content with referring to proverbs as a formulaic genre. Therefore not enough has been done in empirical research to find out just on the basis of what kind of formulae proverbs are composed of. Perhaps precisely because of the evident difficulty in deciding in what structural aspect of a particular genre the formulae should be sought, and in which way defined, the formulae in proverbs are more assumed than investigated. With regard to Sb proverbs, this situation is in sharp contrast with Serbian epic poetry, which, along with ancient Greek epic poetry, has been and still is in the focus of the search for the formulae in oral poetry (Finnegan 1976:127) in the works of literary scholars.

The only major treatment of the problem in Russian proverbs is in the (frequently mentioned) thesis by Levin (1964). The author there claims to demonstrate that all Russian proverbs are bipartite in the sense that they comprise two propositions, or halves (even those that consist of three parts of some kind), and identifies three grammatical formulae in three particular types of bipartite proverbs. A classification of formulae — understood and characterized by the author as "certain word-pairs which are found to occur with particular frequency among the proverbs" (1964:66) — is offered. The author finds a variety of word-pairs such as *kto/čej — tot*, *ne — a*, and *ne — ne*, classifying thus the formulae as correlative, contrastive, and conjunctive, respectively), and describes the devices of repetition supporting such word-pairs.

Additionally, Levin defines a formula termed phonetic, based on phonological similarity in four word-pairs: *plačet — skačet*, *gusto — pusto*, *beda — voda*, and *gore — more*, stating that he presents the four types of formula, and the examples, not "as an exhaustive catalog, but as a representative sampling to which other types and other examples could be added" (1964:119-120).

This classification of the formulae and their correspondence to the formal manifestations has an appeal as generally appropriate (except for the last-named, which is actually in Levin's corpus represented also by some proverbs with disjunctive rather than conjunctive use of the *ne ... ne* word-pair, e.g., in the first example of the formula, Levin's 1036 *Ne napolnim*

morja slezami, ne utešim supostata pečal'ju, as well as with causal-consequential use of *ne* in some other examples, e.g., Levin's 1053 *Ne solgat', tak i ne prodat',* etc.).

Another relevant discussion of this issue is the essay presented in Dundes 1975. Two formulae are mentioned: "Lučše odno, čem drugoe" and "To-to est' to-to" and it is subsequently argued that it is the structure rather than images that should be the subject of analysis, which should search for models at either the syntagmatic or paradigmatic level. Dundes concludes that "the proverb appears to be a traditional propositional statement consisting of at least one descriptive element, a descriptive element consisting of a topic and a comment" (1975:970). With regard to what Dundes writes, it should be emphasized that both the analysis in the present thesis and in Levin 1964 indicate that both the approach and the notion of a theme — rheme bipropositional segmentation of the structure as proposed by Dundes 1975 merit agreement. But the essay by Dundes is not based on an empirical investigation of any large corpus of Russian proverbs. What is more, the two formulae as defined by Dundes do not seem to be formulated on the basis of the same criterion, and the author, characteristically, stops short of proposing either criteria for, or explicit structural description of, the formulae.

In agreement with my conclusions, Dundes 1975 suggests, however, that the formulaic nature of the proverb is more fundamental. It is, therefore, possible that one and the same formula at a more basic level of structure attains its (varied) structural expressions in all of the proverbs containing the word-pairs in the formulae described by Levin, and possibly also other proverbs, which may not be marked by any such word-pair.

If this is so, a search for farther-reaching formulae would need to assume a perspective that is structurally more fundamental than is the one employed by Levin. Application of criteria limited to lexical-syntactic level(s) are incapable of unveiling the most fundamental nature of the formulae, and their inoperability in this regard is confirmed by the fact that such formulae fail to account for a large number of proverbs that do not have these particular word-pairs but nevertheless display, in the two propositions, the same "A" Relation "B" logical model, as for example in Sb *Od znana zelja ne boli glava; od neznana — i glava i stomak* , i.e., 'No headache comes from the known greens; from the unknown ones — both headache and stomachache',

associated with a general co-measurability of their grammatical, lexical, phonological and often also metric structures.

4.9.2 Syntactic-semantic patterns as formulae

This section in the first instance seeks to unveil the nature of what appears to be the principal formula in the proverb in the relationship between an elementary model of human perception, that is, the model of a **binary logical relationship**, on the one hand, and the **structural bipartiteness** of the majority of proverbs expressed in comparison, contrast or/and antithesis, on the other. In doing so, an attempt is made to find out whether repetition has any modeling role in the structural expressions of this formula; that is any role apart from a mnemonic and 'stylistic' (or, particularly, euphonic, rhythmic, etc.) role.

More specifically, an answer to the following principal question is sought: How is it that repetition, including repetition of structural patterns, is a fundamental figure (or modeling device) in the structure of the proverb, at the same time that comparison, contrast or/and antithesis are principal structural expressions of bipartiteness? There is a contradiction between, on the one hand, repetition, which is based on the recurrence of '**sameness**', and, on the other hand, contrast or/and antithesis, which are based on a perceived '**distinctiveness**' between two inter-related ideas. If there really is a paradox in this, is a resolution to be found in the nature of the formula? It is self-evident that an analysis of the above presented relationship necessarily requires application of syntactic-semantic criteria.

In summary, the analysis has two important aims: 1) to find out whether proverbs are modelled after a single archetypical model-formula, and 2) to find out whether the formula can be defined solely in structural terms (or whether it is perhaps also necessary to apply other criteria, such as semantic and logical ones).

The answer proposed is negative with regard to the first and positive with regard to the second.

While it is certainly useful to find out and describe such formulae as those marked by the relative-demonstrative pairs, there is evidence (see, particularly, 2.2.2.1.1.2, 2.2.2.1.2.2, 2.3.2.1.3, 2.3.2.1.5, 2.6.2.2, 2.7.5, 3.4.2, 3.4.5.1,

3.4.5.5 and 4.8 in this thesis) that, firstly, proverbs with these word-pair formulae are ascribable to a more general pattern and, secondly, that such definable general patterns are also underlying frames for a great majority of other bipartite proverbs, i.e., those which do not show any such formal markers as the relative-demonstrative word-pair.

What is perhaps the most salient common characteristic of the syntactic-semantic formulae is their transparent identity or similarity of structure in the two propositions, that is, structural parallelism, primarily in syntax but also at other levels. Pervasiveness of parallelism in Russian oral texts is most convincingly demonstrated in the famous article of Jakobson's, where he writes: "Grammatical parallelism belongs to the poetic canon of numerous folk patterns" (1981b:103).

There is also other evidence to support the application of parallelism as a criterion for defining the formulae. There are reports from the search for metric formulae, that syntactic structures (phrase, clause) and metric structures in oral poetry in Indo-European languages usually coincide (Nagy 1976). The analysis in this study resulted in a clear evidence of the prominence of both syntactic and metric parallelism, as well as parallelism in phonological and lexical devices, between the commonly found **two** propositions in proverbs. However, metric parallelism is the least stable one, as no particular metric scheme was found. One exception are the Sb decasyllabic proverbs, which constitute a distinctive metric formula. This, however, is a formula borrowed from Serbian epic poetry, in which these proverbs have been modelled according to the two decasyllable patterns (i.e., the 4 + 6 pattern, and the symmetrical one, 5 + 5).

At the same time, another salient feature of these binary parallel structures is semantic, and consists in either a comparative, or contrastive or antithetical link between concepts in the two propositions.

Jakobson's description of the Russian proverb *Tabak da banja, kabak da baba — odna zabava* represents the best observation of how various forms of repetition in such an antithetical parallelism formula characterized by "rigorous cohesion" and "restricted grammatical inventory" create in Russian proverbs "the elaborate syntactic style proper to proverbs (...) but never investigated since" (1981c:143-44).

A good starting point in uncovering the cohesive association of syntactic parallelism and contrast in bipartite proverbs is the proposition-final

position. On the one hand, such a structural pattern stems from cliché word and syntactic order — such as subject in the proposition-initial position and predicate in the final — which is what generates syntactic parallelism. On the other hand, patterns of parallelism and contrast in the final position stem from lexical selection (in particular, contrasting or antonymic verbs, adjectives, nouns or numerals) or/and word or stem repetition (e.g., approximate verb repetition, in the form of different prefixes and the same stem).

Such a bi-propositional proverb with contrast embodied in parallelism typically repeats the same syntactic structure in one of the following associations between the two realizations. One typical pattern is marked, on the one hand, by a syntactic coordination of **two** clauses linked to one another with an adversative conjunction, typically *a*, e.g., Sb 30, 43 *Budale kuće zidaju, a mudri ih kupuju*, 53 *Voda riče, a mlini melju*, or 71 *Danas jesmo, a sjutra nijesmo*. On the other hand, the two propositions in these proverbs are in semantic opposition based on contrastive and/or antithetical words: in Sb 43 *budale — mudri, zidaju — kupuju*, in Sb 71 *danas — sjutra, jesmo — nijesmo*.

When no literal lexical contrast is apparent, it is found at the level of trope, as in Sb 53. This proverb, which literally translates as 'Water roars, but mills grind', i.e., 'Water makes a lot of noise, but it is the mills that do the work', is very illustrative of the importance of metaphor and metonymy in the proverb. While both the verb *riče* and the utterance as a whole are necessarily encoded and decoded metaphorically, the internal semantic contrast relies on metonymic decoding of the association of the, in reality, contiguous 'water' and 'mills'. In this metonymic decoding, 'water' and 'mills' are seen as parts of the same whole ('mill-plant'), so that as soon as the collocation of 'water' with the subsequent verb is decoded as a metaphor, a contrastive metaphorical reading of the subsequent clause is triggered.

In proverbs in which contrast is expressed through the lexical meaning (Sb 43 and 71 above), it is these contrastive words in the first instance, as well as the re-occurrence of a syntactic member — either in the form of word repetition, or pronoun substitution, or ellipsis — that relate the propositions to one another and multiply the cohesive binding between them. When neither words with contrastive meaning nor syntactic repetition is present, a

binding relationship existing in extralinguistic reality is modelled into a metonymic tie, as in Sb 53 above.

In a syntactically more complex sub-variant of this pattern, the two syntactically identical parts incorporate a relative clause, e.g., Sb 22 *Blago onome ko dava, a kuku (onome) ko izgleda.*

The two propositions in a proverb modelled after this formula may be compared with the two sides of a balanced traditional scale, which are identical in shape and face and oppose each other.

Thus, basic semantic structure, word order and grammatical repetition are primary constituents of syntactic parallelism. Since only a handful of semantic structures are found to occur, it is in the association of a semantic structural pattern with word order, grammatical repetition and other devices of repetition, such as rhyme, that the parallelism formulae emerge.

Allowing for some fuzzy edges or borderlines, especially with regard to the semantic aspect of the patterns, a basic classification of formulae can be as follows.

The three most prominent semantic patterns are: 1) contrast, 2) comparative correlation, and 3) cause-effect.

Each of these semantic patterns is associated with distinctive syntactic markers. The most typical syntactic markers of these semantic patterns are the following.

4.9.2.1 The contrastive or antithetical parallelism formula

The first recognizable variety is the bipropositional proverbs with adversative two-clause structure that were illustrated in the analysis of tense repetition above (all of these with the conjunction *a* in Sb have at least tense + person repetition, and the vast majority also repeat nominal case + number, in addition to various other devices of repetition that are typically present in bipartite proverbs).

The contrastive pattern is syntactically marked by parallelism of the structure in the two clauses/propositions and either the conjunction *a* or *da* in Russ, and *a* or *al(i)* in Sb, or juxtaposition. In Russ, there are 76 proverbs with the adversative clause connector *a*, out of which tense + person + number are repeated in 73, and tense only in another two. An example is Russ 9, in which there is seen two-fold nominal case + number and tense +

person + number and aspect repetition, thus there is found a complete grammatical repetition in all three syntactic positions in the two clauses: *Beda prixodit pudami, a uxodit zolotnikami.* Among the proverbs with the conjunction *da*, this triple grammatical repetition occurs in 38 instances. In Sb, out of a total of 80 such proverbs, all three grammatical properties repeat in 75, and tense + person in the remaining five; out of 15 proverbs in which the linkage is *ali*, only in one proverb do the predicates contrast in number, while in the other ones all three grammatical properties repeat, as in, e.g., Sb 241, which shows a complete grammatical identity between all four elements in the two clauses: *Lijepa je kalina gledati, al' je grka zobati.*

Another example of contrastive parallelism and coordination, Sb 351 *Oči vode a noge nose*, even shows a parallelism in the duality of the referents of the two opposed nouns. (For more examples of this formula, see 4.8 above.)

Contrast and parallelism in the formula are two poles of one **semantic-syntactic unity**. Although contrast is inherent in the semantics, it is realized only by structural (syntactic) parallelism; i.e., it is perceived as such precisely because the words or phrases with potentially contrastive meaning are incorporated into a syntactically identical context in two mutually related segments marked by the identity, or similarity, of structural organization. This is why the two, parallelism and contrast — given the fact that the majority of proverbs represent a relational statement — occur in the analysis of the formulae as primary 'ingredients'.

The nature of this binary formula thus offers a resolution of the seemingly paradoxical association of repetition as recurrence of sameness, and contrast (or antithesis) as a perceived distinctiveness between two inter-related ideas. The explanation emerges from an intimate relationship between the syntactic and semantic dimensions of the formula. For instance, in Russ 17 *Bog ljubit pravednika, a gospodin jabednika* 'God loves the righteous one, and the master [loves] the sneak', there is a full identity of syntactic structure of the two clauses linked to one another on the basis of contiguity, while the grammatically parallel nouns are linked to one another on the basis of semantic opposition. God and master, on the one hand, and the righteous person and the sneak, on the other, are mutually in a two-fold relationship: they are both parallel to one another in their syntactic position in the clause and in sharing the same grammatical properties, and semantically contrasted (to one another) through their relationship to the

remaining two elements in their respective clauses. Consequently, the two clauses are mutually in the same kind of bidimensional relationship of parallelism and contrast, since their identity of the predicate (and parallelism: syntactic, although not formal) both ensures cohesion and gives the basis for the contrastive linking between the two pairs of nouns.

In addition to syntactic-grammatical and semantic levels, parallelism and contrast are, of course, often further construed at the phonological level; typically by parallel rhyme, parallel alliteration, assonance of stressed vowels, identity or approximation, or opposition, in syllabic meter, and by word or stem repetition. In the just cited example, in the pair *pravednika — jabednika* we find a parallel rhyme in the full correspondence of vowels and a partial correspondence of post-stress consonants, along with the contrast between /v/ and /b/; a contrast between stressed /o/ and /i/ in the initial words; as well as isometrism between the two clauses.

Such multi-level parallelism and contrast in this pattern are then embodied in a mutual strengthening of cohesive links among multiple devices of repetition.

This contrast in parallelism represents one of the main semantic-syntactic formulae that are the basis of bipartite proverbs.

4.9.2.2 The comparative (equalizing) parallelism formula

The correlative-comparative pattern is syntactically marked by parallelism of the structure in the two clauses/propositions and a relative-demonstrative pair (the representative ones are, in Russ: *kto/čto/gde — tot/to/tam;* in Sb: *ko/što/đe — taj/to/tu*) as the binary connector, e.g., in Russ 153 *Kto pervee, tot pravee,* 158 *Kto smel, tot i s`el,* 164 *Kuda kozel, tuda i baran,* and in Sb 106 *Đe su kola mudrosti, tu su dvoja ludosti,* 180 *Kakva majka onaka i ćerka,* 192 *Koga tišti onaj i pišti.* The semantic structure of this pattern is quite interesting, as it varies in dependence of the choice of the relative word. When the relative is *kto/ko,* the subordinate clause (the one with the relative word) in this pattern, as in the subsequent pattern of parallelism below, semantically stands in a cause-effect relationship with the main clause (the one with the demonstrative). The subordinate clause is also functionally equivalent to the subject.

Both connector (relative — demonstrative) words are usually in nominative sg., but also in the oblique cases, as in a metonymic linking of the two equalized concepts in Sb 350 *O čem čoek radio o tom se i hranio*, or 416, 417 and 462), and may further occur with a reverse order of connector words: *onaj — koji, ono — što, kako — tako*, i.e., demonstrative in the main clause — relative in the subordinated clause (e.g., Sb 342, 343, 344).

4.9.2.3 The cause-effect parallelism formula

The cause-effect pattern is syntactically marked by parallelism, cause-effect/consequence relationship between the two clauses, and juxtaposition, rather than a conjunction, e.g., in Russ 23 *Bol'še plačeš — men'še skačeš*, or in a two-fold variety in Sb 303 *Nesta vina, nesta razgovora, nesta blaga, nesta prijatelja*. The conjunction *a* occurs, however, in a two-fold variety of this pattern, e.g., Russ 195 *Molviš — ne vorotiš, a pljuneš — ne podymeš*. (Here, the whole proverb exemplifies contrast.)

Cause-effect is frequent in the proverbs with complex sentence structure, among which proverbs with two clauses make up over 50% of the total proverbs in both Russ and Sb. It is more often expressed in juxtaposed coordination rather than subordination among the clauses.

It is interesting that a number of proverbs which in Levin's classification belong to the correlative formula show, in the underlying semantic structure, a perceived cause-effect relationship, and thus belong to this formula. In Russ for instance, such are 160 *Kto v Moskve ne byval, krasoty ne vidal* and 161 *Kto v pjatok pered blagoveščeniem postitsja, ot naprasnogo ubijstva soxranitsja*, regardless of the fact that the latter does not necessarily correspond with such a relationship in 'reality'.

It should be remembered that cause-effect relationship in the complex Russian and Serbian sentence can be expressed by various semantic-syntactic devices, including the connectors which are primary devices of expressing some other semantic relationship, such as temporal, or relative, as the just cited examples show. Encoding a cause-effect relationship in(to) the correlative clauses is also dependent on the lexical semantics, i.e., choice, e.g., in Russ 63, where the contrastive word pair *mnogo — malo* is seen in this function. This proverb is also an example of overlapping of the formulae, i.e., contrastive and cause-effect.

Also, it is worth pointing out that the logic on the basis of which elements of realia are co-related in proverbs is not always in agreement with the logic of the contemporary scientific mind of modern culture. One characteristic attitude can be seen in a fatalistic dualism of the occurrence of the good and bad, and sometimes even some kind of causal-consequential link between the two, as in Russ 60 *Gde čajetsja radostno, tam vstretitsja gorestno* (see also, for instance, Russ 148 and 149).

Of the three binary formulae, cause-effect parallelism comprises the most numerous group, followed by the contrastive parallelism, followed by the comparative parallelism formula.

4.9.3 The triple formulae

Triple constituent structure is another recognizable pattern, in addition to the bipartite formulae discussed above. An example is Russ 395 *Spalennoe dolgo paxnet*. Occurrence of **three units** in a proverb as a pattern is found at all levels of the structure. Most often it is one or more of the following: triple syntactic constituent (usually in the form of a triple pronunciation unit), triple word (or word unit), triple disyllable, or triple clause.

Even though these proverbs may still be bipartite in the sense of consisting of a subject and predicate, or having rhyme, the fact that their triple structure is salient at one level or another remains, and should be noted. However, I look for and describe the triple formula only among those proverbs that are not transparently bipartite. Number **three** is in the proverbs in my corpus evidently far less important than number **two**. Nevertheless, both two and three have been in the literature on oral texts identified as having canonical, or formulaic power. Jakobson, for instance, describes the structure of a Russian proverb of this type (although he does not define it in terms of any formulae), *Pervyj blin komom*, as a complex relationship of contrast and symmetry of twos, threes and fives in the phonological, syllabic and lexical units (1981a:712-13). Olrik formulates such compositional formulae in the epic narrative as the 'Law of Two to a Scene', the 'Law of Contrast', the 'Law of Repetition' and the 'Law of Three': "The repetition is almost always tied to the number three. But the number three is also a law in and of itself" (1965:133).

These proverbs obviously contradict the claim that all proverbs in Russian are bipartite (Levin 1964), and since number one is not among the favored, prime numbers in discourses of oral culture, a direction to take in examining the monoclausal proverbs is in relation to a dominant structural **triality** in the segmentation of their structure. On the basis of such a criterion these proverbs represent a distinct formula.

As the number of such proverbs in my corpus is not large enough to make any definite conclusions as to the prominence of the formula in the discourse, at this point I merely point out their composition in the light of the evident saliency of their ternary structure.

The triple word proverbs in the corpus make up approximately five and four per cent of all proverbs in Russ and Sb, respectively. In Russ these are the following: 344 *Prošlogo ne vorotiš'*, 355 *Ruka ruku moet*, 398 *Stoja rasteš' vdvoe*, 421 *Trut truta probivaet*, 451 *Vina golovu klonit*, 456 *Vor voru terpit* or 495 *Zdorov'e vsego dorože*, and also 19, 74, 125, 170, 172, 175, 226, 230, 281, 283, 297, 299, 307, 322, 326, 337, 358 and 395. In Sb some examples are, for instance, 56 *Vreme slamu jede*, 329 *Nužda zakon izmenjuje*, 395 *Ružna ružnu ište*, or 422 *Snaga vino pije*, and others are 66, 113, 233, 272, 297, 302, 330, 370, 389, 405, 421, 444, 445 and 455.

Notable in these examples is the foregrounded polyptoton (Russ 355, 421, 456 and Sb 395), which is a result of a shift of the semantic patient in the pattern A does (typically transitive) B, whereby B is another instance of A. If a constituent of the triple formula is not the word item, it can be the stress unit, e.g., Sb 413 *Silom baba u raj*.

Proverbs comprising three pronunciation units, or three syntactic constituents of the simple sentence, can be seen for instance in Russ 32 76, 79, 90, 127, 185, 193, 209, 211, 213, 221, 225, 231, 255, 260, 261, 289, 294, 298, 302, 303, 309, 318, 365, 369, 384, 393, 394, 404, 424, 427, 440, 460, 462, 469, 471 and 472. There are 53 analogous Sb examples in the corpus.

The triple formula can be compared with the rhythmic sound of steps: three occurrences of the same kind of movement represent a rhythmic motion and a confirmed repetition. Therefore, this formula is opposed to number two in the binary parallelism formulae in that its composition is not transparently contrastive or antithetical, correlative, or cause-consequential, i.e., distinctive in terms of syntactic-semantic patterning. As Jakobson demonstrates in the analysis of *Pervyj blin komom*, the proverb of this type

tends instead to be marked by "a terse, concentrated phonological shape, which in turn is a salient property" (1981a:713) of the discourse.

The formulae as defined in this chapter, i.e., both the binary parallelism formulae and the triple formula, not only cover a far greater number of structural variations (types) among proverbs that stem from the same kind of perception of the extralinguistic realia by means of co-relating two ideas, but become models on the basis of which it is possible to explain structural variants of one and the same proverb.

Take for instance Sb 70 *Daleko od očiju daleko od srca* (henceforth, variant A), which in the Serbian language also exists in the form *Daleko od oka, daleko od srca* (henceforth, variant B). Both variants express the same 'He/she who is far away is also far away from (one's) heart', i.e., will be forgotten. In both proverbs, the two propositions are, on the one hand, syntactically parallel, and, at the semantic level, the two relationships formulated in the propositions concern the same referent (subject). These are the common characteristics of the equalizing parallelism formula, as defined here. (Because of the latter characteristic these are not included in the cause-effect parallelism formula, despite the fact that this semantic relationship is decodable from the proverb.) The two variants therefore belong to the same formula, even though we can see that variant B is a 'perfected' representation of the formula. In addition to syntactic parallelism, there is a full syllabic, prosodic and grammatical parallelism between the propositions: unlike in variant A, both final words are disyllables and both in gen. sg., and both the final accent, its position (shifted on to *od*) **and** the accented vowel are identical and in the same syllable.

The important conclusion is that — just as happens in oral epic poetry (in which, for instance, the same singer never repeats a particular song in exactly the same form, but **always** repeats the constructive formula) — it is the formula that is the <u>invariant</u> for a particular proverb, ensuring its transmission in space and time, at the same time allowing for the form to change in time, or space (from region to region), or from speaker to speaker.

4.10 Summary

The first important finding of the analysis in this chapter is that a rather large number of proverbs both in Russ and Sb have fewer than two nouns or/and fewer than two verbs. Secondly, among the proverbs that do have more than two nouns or verbs, very frequently these nouns or verbs repeat the same case and number, or the same tense, person, number and/or aspect. Furthermore, most of such repetitions of these grammatical categories occur in the form of repetition of a single (particular) case, number, tense, aspect and person. The predominating case is nominative, the number is singular, the tense is present, the aspect is imperfective, and the person is the third.

The fact that the hypotheses with which this analysis of grammatical repetition was approached are thus confirmed suggests that the overall effects of grammatical repetition — structural **sameness**, or likeness, hence **simplicity** — are the same ones found in repetition of devices at the phonological and lexical levels, only they are more pronounced than at the lexical level. This sameness and simplicity of grammatical structure contributes to structural compactness and cohesion in a proverb.

As we saw in Chapter III, this simplicity and sameness achieved in grammatical repetition is complemented with word repetition, most frequently a preposition, which is found to be closely associated with syntactic parallelism and semantic contrast. Grammatical repetition, as well as phonological and word repetition, plays an important role in cohesive binding of the parallel and/or contrasting structures with one another.

Grammatical repetition is an important means of contrasting parallelism, the most important general characteristic of the structure. Due to the abstractness of this linguistic level, grammatical parallelism in case, number, person and/or aspect is perhaps more subtle (less salient) than is, for instance, syntactic parallelism in sentence constituents. However, parallelism of case, tense, number and person is very often involved in the parallelism in sentence constituents, and this frequency of occurrence gives it a greater prominence in relation to the parallelism of units at other levels.

In turn, repetition of grammatical categories emphasizes syntactic parallelism, in addition to the also often noted repetition of phonological and lexical devices, as was shown in the preceding two chapters.

The semantic aspect of the grammatically parallel structures is typically seen in one of the following three relationships: a) contrastive or antithetical, b) comparative (correlative), or cause-consequential. The association of the grammatical (syntactical) and the semantic features is the criterion applied in the analysis of the three analogously termed structural formulae. An attempt is also made to define those proverbs that do not show transparent binarism of these three formulae of parallelism in light of triality of constituents of their structure, and this pattern is correspondingly termed the triple formula. A well know previous claim that all Russian proverbs are bipartite (Levin 1964) is therefore questioned by the existence of this pattern both in Russian and Serbian proverbs. It is found that the four formulae combined account for approximately four fifths of all the proverbs analyzed.

The empirical analysis and definition of proverbial formulae confirmed the existence of constructive invariants in proverbs, which are the most prominent characteristics of oral texts in general.

4.11 For further study

Patterns in word order are likely one of the most important topics worth further investigation. In the formulae definition, the suggested triple formula should be tested on a large corpus, particularly in terms of lexical and syntactic constituents.

Chapter V

Conclusions

The main hypothesis of this study was that repetition of various linguistic devices is one of the fundamental modeling principles in proverbial discourse. The analyses have shown a general support for this hypothesis, both in terms of the frequencies of particular linguistic units and devices of repetition and, more importantly, in terms of the principal roles that repetition plays in a proverb. It was shown that by means of multiple-level linguistic repetition, involving various devices at each level, a literary structure is created, such that, when considered in association with pragmatic aspects of the proverb as a communicative act (i.e., with its functions), it distinguishes the **typical** proverb from other, oral and written, discourse types.

Ideally, conclusions such as the one just made should be based on comparisons of results of empirical studies, such as the one presented here, with similar ones for different types of discourse in a given language. A problem we face with regard to this requirement is that the list of discourse types still awaiting description in Russian and Serbian is long. Thus we have to make do with comparing results of any (and this) description with commonly shared characteristics of related discourse types.

Of course, repetition is a prominent feature in many other discourse types, including some other oral forms, such as the riddle or lament (which has a pronounced character of a ritual), in particular. But the nature of the most prominent devices of repetition seems to be distinctive in different discourse types. In the Russian lament, for instance, rhyme "occurs irregularly, unpredictably, and usually as a secondary, almost chance result of syntactic and grammatical parallelism" (Worth 1983:515).

Nevertheless, what makes the role of repetition in the proverb distinctive, in comparisons with those discourse types in which it may indeed be even more salient — in poetry, counting-out rhymes, or riddles, for instance — is that the modeling effects of repetition are manifested within the limits of **a single sentence** structure. Due to this fact, the **cumulative effects** of repetition translate into a structure of a distinctive discourse.

Furthermore, as hypothesized, there is a cause-consequence relationship between the cultural functions and structure of proverbial discourse, i.e., there is a correlation between the communicational functions of the proverb and repetition as a principle responsible for modeling a text that is perceptible as a proverb. Once a sentence is viewed as literary, repetitive orderings in it (e.g., in a proverb), as Lotman confirms, are perceived not as accidental, but as "a definitive element in the description of the structure of a text" (1977:106).

It should be pointed out now that we can make such an a priori assumption that the proverb is an artistic text exactly because repetitive structures play a crucial role in the cultural consensus about what a literary text is. Nothing seems to be a more certain marker of an artistic structure than parallelism, which in the present study turned out to be the most transparent structural effect of repetition. As emphasized numerous times by Jakobson, "The great possibilities inherent in close poetic combination of similarities and contrasts account for the widespread diffusion, and perhaps the predominant role, of systems of parallelism in all poetry, both oral and written" (1983:104).

5.1 Repetition and linguistic structure

At the phonological level, the most dominant feature is rhyme. It was found that rhyme, sometimes multiple, is a favorite device in Russ proverbs in particular, as it occurs in approximately 70% per cent of Russ proverbs in the corpus. It is an end-rhyme, so that rhyme functions primarily as a device of parallelism, but is also important in the generation of euphony and rhythm. Following rhyme, the proverb shows a general preference for alliteration, notably in word-initial position. Word-initial alliteration too is often found in parallelism, in final position. Apart from word-initial alliteration, multiple repetition of several consonants, and some consonant clusters, also often counts as cumulative alliteration, resulting in a paronomastic sound structure. Furthermore, assonance of stressed vowels is found to occur in patterns of parallelism between propositions, or pronunciation, or rhythmic units. Two other forms of patterning are also found: one in consonant-vowel structures, another in isosyllabic sequences and isosyllabic parallelism. In the former kind, the more preferred patterns

are longer sequences consisting of a consonant and a vowel, rather than the shorter sequences with consonant clusters. In the latter kind, the first tendency is that words with more than two syllables are rare, and the second, in the Sb proverbs, that disyllables are preferred to monosyllables.

At the lexical level, repetition of words in a single proverb (exact, approximate, or elliptic), on the one hand, and recurrence of particular type and token lexical items at discourse level, on the other, are found to have particular roles. The former is a relevant device in the generation of the overall likeness and simplicity and, in particular, in the modeling of structural patterns of contrastive or co-relational parallelism. Nouns, verbs and prepositions are found to be more prominent than other parts of speech.

At the level of discourse, the most important findings concern the most frequent classes and certain key words. Particularly prominent are the negation words; this prominence is in agreement with the restrictive nature of the discourse.

The typical proverb is the register of the 'common folk', hence its lexical features are those of the vernacular. 'Commonness' is the most characteristic feature of proverbial lexis taken in its literal meaning: it is dominated by words denoting humans and their actions, human body terms, nature, God, common denotations of one's well-being, animals, and the like. The creator of the proverb characteristically perceives the world as having an anthropomorphic structure: metaphoric and metonymic transfers of the structure of the human body and the contiguous realia on to the speaker's environment are common.

At the grammatical level, the proverb is characterized, on the one hand, by a **simplicity** of structure, manifested in a very limited inventory of grammatical categories and preference for particular associations of these (present tense and third person singular, nominative and singular), avoidance of complex sentence structure in general, and of subordinative complex sentence with conjunctions in particular, and preference for juxtaposition rather than conjunctions, with the exception of two adversative conjunctions: *a* and *da*; which, consequentially results in a pronounced **brevity**.

On the other hand, this simplicity of the inventory of grammatical devices is further emphasized by their being repeated in a single proverb. Grammatical repetition thus adds **sameness** as a third prominent characteristic, in addition to simplicity and brevity.

Grammatical and lexical repetition are found to be closely associated with bipartite grammatical structures in modeling three particular syntactic-semantic patterns, or formulae, of parallelism, namely: contrast, comparison, and cause-effect.

These formulae are primarily in the syntactic-semantic structure, but are often supported by parallelism resulting from phonological repetition (rhyme, alliteration and assonance in particular) and by parallelism in isosyllabic structures.

A type of formula is also identified in **triple** occurrences of units of the same linguistic level, and termed the triple formula. Importantly, the triple formula is a characteristic of proverbs that do not show a transparent bipartiteness in structure (most of the monoclausal proverbs in particular).

The evidence of the existence of the triple formula opposes the claim in an earlier study (Levin 1964) that **all** Russian proverbs are bipartite, and instead points out the relevance of another theory of folklore texts (Olrik 1965), according to which both duality and triality are the principal laws governing the modeling of the structure of the text.

The discussion of formulae (4.9 in Chapter IV) represents a synthesis of the most salient structural characteristics that in the analyses preceding it were found to be closely associated with various devices of repetition. That discussion therefore amounts to a definition and description of the most fundamental models which are common to both Russian and Serbian proverbial discourse.

The analysis of **repetition** has thus arrived at the following important features which characterize the structure of the proverb.

A **typical proverb**, when what is common to both Russian and Serbian proverbs is extracted, is described as having a combination of the following features:

1. it either has a **binary** structure, which typically means two coordinated clauses; or it shows some kind of **ternary** structure: three words or three stress units in particular;

2. the two parts of a binary proverb are typically **parallel** (symmetrical) to one another in terms of syntactic structure and grammatical categories such as tense (present), mood (infinitive, imperative), aspect (imperfective), case (nominative), person (third), and number (singular);

3. the semantic relationship between the two propositions is typically either that of **cause-effect** or **contrast** (antithesis) or **comparative correlation**;

4. it **rhymes**; it is more likely than not that a bipartite proverb will have rhyme and that the rhyme will be **parallel**, and **near** rather than full;

5. it is **short**, and consists normally of five or six words (a minimum of two, and very rarely more than nine);

6. it normally has one or more **negation** words;

7. it often has words which **alliterate**: word-initial alliteration and alliterative parallelism between end-words of the two parts is common;

8. its stressed vowels are often found to create a form of **assonance**: vowels in syntactically parallel words may be identical, or vowels in intonation units in relatively longer proverbs are found in a rhythmic sequence of simultaneously mutually identical and contrasted segments;

9. as a cumulative result of usually several of the features mentioned so far, the proverb has qualities of **rhythm**, **euphony** and **paronomasia**, it is therefore **melodic**. This quality, in addition to the over-encompassing parallelism, is essential in the proverb's functioning as a mnemonic device, as a piece of marked, literary or sometimes just unusual oral text, as an argument meant to catch listeners' attention and persuade, and as a switch from an 'ordinary' communication to a marked, therefore appreciated, communicational level.

10. more often than not, a proverb involves **tropes**, primarily metaphors and metonymies, and usually the whole proverb is encoded and decoded as a trope.

5.2 Structural differences between Russian and Serbian proverbs

Although the primary aim in this research was to arrive at a set of features typical for both Russian and Serbian proverbs and to find out invariant characteristics with possible typological value, determining structural differences between the two languages was also an important objective. It was found that, while quantifiable differences of various degrees were often encountered, there is no such essential structural difference between Russian and Serbian proverbs that would set them apart from one another in such a way that their main discourse features would differ.

I shall now briefly summarize the most important differences between Russian and Serbian in terms of the prominence of the main devices of repetition in the corpus, without making any assumptions with regard to the statistical significance of these differences, for such statistical analyses remain for further research.

Assonance of stressed vowels is more prominent in Russ than in Sb, but it is perhaps more interesting that the absence of the features of vocalic height and frontedness (the predominating stressed vowels in assonance are /o/ and /a/) is more characteristic of Russ than of Sb, while intricate interweaving between assonance of stressed vowels and repetitions and parallelisms in prosody are more often a feature of Sb.

Alliteration in the form of non-successive multiple word-initial repetition of consonants in Russ appears salient — in the sense of probable perception of alliteration in a word-initial consonant — primarily due to structural context (parallelism of the repeated words, brevity of the proverb). In Sb, however, such alliteration is predominantly ensured by prosody; it is acoustically supported by the stress in the initial syllable.

In addition, multiple occurrences of a consonant in a proverb, and of voiceless consonants in particular, are more prominent in Russ than in Sb, while the latter in turn favors repetition of sonorants.

Pleophony in Russ, and /**ije**/ from jat' are unique sound sequences that are found to repeat.

The disyllable is a preferred word length in repetition in Sb, which also has the decasyllable as a favorite metrical structure.
Rhyme is more important in Russ proverbs than in Sb ones. In the former it is more often vocalic than consonantal, and typically full rather than near, while in the latter rhyme is characteristically vocalic and near.
The negative particle *ne* is almost twice as frequent in Russ as in Sb. Besides this, the two languages differ both in the choice of negation words that repeat (ne and ni are preferred in Russ, while in Sb derived negation words are also prominent) and in patterns of their repetition.

5.3 Repetition and distinctiveness of proverbial discourse

This investigation was primarily concerned with the question of whether repetition has any important effects in modeling the structure of the proverb. It has been demonstrated that it does, and the analysis of relevant modeling effects of a variety of devices of repetition at each linguistic level has led to certain conclusions about the structure of the typical proverb as a discourse type. Furthermore, in light of the pragmatic aspects of proverbial communication, certain conclusions can be drawn concerning the most important functions of the principal effects of repetition. The most important structural characteristics of the typical proverb, when described in relation to semantic and pragmatic aspect of proverbial semiosis, are as described below.

An important aim in the analysis was to test the universality of bipartiteness as the basis of proverbial formulae. The claim that all proverbs are bipartite (Levin 1964), was re-examined through analysis of another structural type, one that has mainly been left out in demonstrations of the bipartiteness of the proverb. This type is seen in such proverbs as Russ 451 *Vina golovu klonit*, 'It is guilt that bends one's head' and 358 *Russkij bog velik* 'The Russian God is great'. The analysis considered whether it can be demonstrated that proverbs of this type are also in some meaningful way varieties of a formula and it was suggested that, due to a common triality of structural constituents, it belongs to a pattern termed the triple formula.

In conclusion, there seems to be little doubt about the principal relevance of the following two structural features of the proverb.

1) The proverb is a discourse-independent text. As was demonstrated in Chapter I, application of the structural criterion in defining short oral forms is successful in distinguishing the saying from the proverb, for the former is normally not a sentence. When it is, the saying still cannot function as a text independently, since it requires a concrete reference either in the pre-text of the speech situation, as it always refers to a particular referent known to both speakers, unlike the proverb, which is a universal reference to any and every instance of the given referent. The sentence structure and this universal applicability give the proverb the status of text, i.e. an independent communicative act. Consequently, an investigation of repetition in Russ and/or Sb sayings would likely not find that repetition occurs to the extent to which it does in the corpus analyzed in this study.

2) Structural binarism is an effect of the basic relational semantic structure (A in relation (typically, opposed) to B), on the one hand, and repetition in structure, on the other. It is embodied in parallelism of the sounds (rhyme, alliteration, assonance), grammatical categories and syntax, and, at the same time, in semantic contrast, antithesis, or paradox, which all represent a type of comparison.

The features mentioned so far seem to be sufficient to distinguish the proverb from other texts with regard to structure. Since proverbs, just like any text, engage in various relationships in communication through their semantics and through the pragmatic aspects of their use, the last two aspects need to be accounted for, too.

The communicational functions of the proverb in relation to their structure could be summarized as follows.

Literary text. While **rhythm**, **euphony** and **musical qualities** in general are the main features of the sound and prosodic structure, parallelism is the principal structural frame. It is the most overwhelming effect of repetition of all the devices studied in the thesis, from phonological and syllabic, to lexical and grammatical. At the phonological level, rhyme and alliteration in particular, but also assonance of stressed vowels, pleophony in Russ and the disyllabic reflex of *jat'* in Sb, are found as manifestations of formal parallelism. The repetition of various lexical units and grammatical categories and classes results in an overall syntactic parallelism, usually of two propositions or

clauses. The noted bipartiteness of proverbs (Levin 1964) arises as a consequence of parallelism in the proverb which is constructed on the basis of an opposition or juxtaposition of propositions marked for identity, or likeness of various devices and items. That this is so is confirmed by the fact that there is also found triple parallelism, in the form A : B : C.

As redundant as it may seem, the structural parallelism manifested in repetition is not a mere ornament in the proverb[29]. It is rather a necessary attention catching and consciousness penetrating meta-structure of the linguistic medium that functions as a carrier of the 'point' made salient by semantic contrast.

These features, particularly the dialectic association of parallelism and contrast, or comparison, make the typical proverb a cliché or formulaic text. The proverb is thus normally a sentence marked by the secondary modeling in the linguistic medium. As texts with this latter characteristic are in literary semiotics considered literature, consequentially the typical proverb is a literary discourse.

One of the literary functions of the proverb is certainly stylistic markedness. In the language of proverbs it is primarily of phonostylistic and syntactostylistic nature. Many proverbs are stylistically marked (or double modelled) distinctive texts, especially those employing tropes, rhyme and other forms of parallelism, rhythm, and phonological figures. This individuality in the additional, secondary organization of language as medium is a quality of every literary text. It has already been pointed out that a careful and effective structural organization, in the first instance, in the form of parallelism, is the primary feature of proverbs.

While this meticulous modeling of linguistic structure in proverbs, as demonstrated in the analyses in the present study, certainly has a role in making communication easier and more efficient, it also functions in the generation of an elementary quality of any literary text, the quality of beauty, which, regardless of the genre of a text, fulfills the same human need. Thus, paradoxically, the euphonic simplicity of the proverbial parallelism, as well as their contrastive content, plays an important role in fulfilling the universal

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[29]Contrary to the view held by Guershoon, who treats comparison, parallelism and contrast in a chapter on "ornamental devices" and rhyme or figures such as alliteration in another one on "ornaments" in Russ proverbs (1941:12-13).

need for originality and creativity in communication. In this respect, proverbs are comparable to any other literary texts.

It is repetition in the structure that is, as we have seen, one of the modeling principles, the most important one indeed, behind the structural properties through which the proverb attains a literary character.

Model with universal reference. The meaning of proverbs can be direct, that is, literal or referential, but it tends to be tropic. Tropes have a two-fold role: a) to generalize and associate concepts by comparison (metaphor) or by logical relationship (metonymy) and b) to mark the text as double-modelled and thus a double-marked communication. While metaphor is found to be the main semantic figure by means of which the proverbial message is encoded and decoded, metonymy is often the link between the two ideas compared or contrasted in the bipartite proverb. The fact that most often the whole proverb is a trope, thus a unique trope, forces us once again to view the proverb as literature.

Persuasive argument. A proverb is a statement with a persuasive power which rests, on the one hand, on the authority of the collective behind it, and on an appeal of special qualities of structure, on the other. This is a function in which the social and the structural aspects of the proverb so vividly rely on one another, and this is why advertisements arguing for the unquestionable virtues of their referents find nowadays a suitable expression in a proverb. Just like an advertisement using absolute comparatives to set its referent above all the others in the same class, a proverb is hard to oppose because it assumes the authoritative position of the collective as its creator and actual sender of the message, that is, unless the recipient can cite a proverb with an opposing argument.

Means of communicational economy. Unlike repetition in language structure, repetition at the communicational level — manifested in every use of a proverb — is not a behavior characterized by distinctiveness, but is exactly opposite to it. It is a behavior that stems from the principle of 'language economy' or 'least effort', which in pragmatic terms also includes 'doing what others do'. By choosing a proverb as a ready to use formula, the former principle is motivated by a desire to minimize efforts (both cognitive and articulatory) to formulate an idea. The latter, 'doing what others do', resorts to the use of a proverb as a conventional and 'safe' expression of an idea, since most people tend to do what the majority does. What has been already

established as a respectable authority is less likely to be questioned or criticized.

It was emphasized in Chapter I that both the individual and the collective level are important in the creation and use of proverbs. As a minimal, single sentence text — each time it occurs — a proverb is used as an individual's argument for a collective idea. Therefore, the proverb is culture-dependent.

Mnemonic device. Parallelism in a binary structure often based on an oppositional, cause-effect or comparative association of ideas, as well as such properties as brevity, rhyme and euphony, are attention-catching and memorization-aiding features of a proverb.

Beauty, entertainment, humor. Since it is meant to be remembered and used, the proverb is not only typically short and stylistically marked ('beautiful'), but often also entertaining and humorous through its play on sound and word, as well as by means of choosing an unusual aspect for co-relating two ideas. This quality is a basis on which the speaker forms an intimate relationship with such proverbs.

Interaction between the culture and its member. Proverbs are discourse-signs kept in the dictionary of ready-to-use texts of a complex of communicational systems called oral culture.[30] In light of the fundamental ideas of theoretical semiotics, it can be said that culture has a double role in the communication of proverbs: on the one hand, it is the generator of proverbs and, on the other, it is, at the same time, a global text created by proverbial discourse, in cooperation with other semiotic systems. Since processuality in transition seems to be in the nature of all semiotic systems, the proverb emerges and is constantly remodelled in the course of its use. The sender in proverbial communication is double too: on the one hand, it is the culture as the generator of the discourse and, on the other hand, it is each and every particular user of proverbs as someone who makes a choice from the repertoire contained in one of the discourse dictionaries in the culture. This means that the user of a proverb, in each communicative act, performs two

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[30] The fact that proverbs are stored in written dictionaries and used also in written form does not negate this statement. By their origin and by their relevance in oral communication primarily of the people who maintain links with the traditional culture, the communicational environment of proverbs is principally in the oral culture.

communicative roles: that of a sender and also that of a recipient of a discourse-sign.

The pragmatic aspect lies in the fact that both the generation and the use of proverbs imply a social evaluation of the referent and are communicationally (thus, socially) goal-oriented.

Thus, on the basis of the structural and functional aspects of the proverb, the **prototypical proverb** can be defined as a **minimal formula-text, with culturally attributed prestige, persuasively arguing for a socially acceptable idea**.

On a final note, having demonstrated the discourse distinctiveness of the proverb as a single-sentence repetitive structure typically characterized by formal parallelism on the one hand and semantic comparison, contrast or antithesis on the other, a note on what may at first glance seem to contradict the main conclusion in this study is proposed. It concerns not the distinctiveness, but the commonness of the proverb.

This structural bipolarity of the proverb, based on repetition, and usually including a logical contrast or antithesis of the associated or related concepts, corresponds with some of Olrik's epic laws of folk narrative, or, in his all-inclusive term, Sage: the 'Law of Repetition', the 'Law of Two to a Scene', the 'Importance of Initial and Final Position', the 'Law of Patterning' and 'The Law of Contrast' (1965:131-141). The list of principal laws — which in Olrik's theory of folk narratives represent "the common rules for the composition", which "limit the freedom of composition of oral literature in a much different and more rigid way than in our written literature" (1965:131) — reads like a suitable brief conclusion about the findings on the role of repetition in proverbs in this study.

The correspondence of my conclusions about the role of repetition in proverbial discourse to Olrik's laws for oral narratives indicates that, although structurally and functionally distinctive, the structure of the proverb is at the same time significantly affected by its belonging to traditional, oral culture.

Or, perhaps, we are dealing with one of the basic principles on which human culture in general is founded, a principle whose saliency in the proverb, as well as in other types of discourse in the oral culture, comes from

the faithful adherence of the 'common' man, and 'common' poet, to the recurring patterns.

5.4 Contribution to research

This thesis shows that it is possible to draw a precise distinction between the proverb and the saying in terms of their structural and communicational aspects. Applying the same two criteria, structure and function, it defines the proverb as a discourse type and suggests its distinctiveness in relation to other related discourse types.

It demonstrates the importance of linguistic repetition as a constructive mechanism which shapes language material into a marked, literary text. It arrives at the conclusion that the effects of repetition as a device, and the communicational (thus cultural) functions of an utterance, are sufficient to both attribute to a sentence the status of a proverb and to tell a sentence-proverb apart from non-proverbial sentences.

The quantitative analyses have yielded a considerable amount of data on the structure of proverbial discourse, which should, it is hoped, find its usefulness in contrastive evaluations of findings about other discourse types in future research.

Moreover, the study confirms the inseparability of linguistic and literary analysis, and the importance of structural linguistic principles in the modern scholarship termed semiotics of culture.

Focusing on repetition in relation to parallelism, in Jakobson's words, "brings out in particular the significance of binary structures at different levels of cultural anthropology, thus still opening new vistas for an interdisciplinary study of parallelism" (1983:104).

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Appendix

The Russian Corpus

(A literal translation is provided only for the proverbs cited in Chapters III, IV and V.)

1. Aminem kvašni ne zamesiš'; molitvu tvori, da muku kladi!
2. Bab'i sbori — gusinyj vek.
3. Babe spustiš' — sam baba budeš'.
4. Babij kadyk ne zatkneš' ni pirogom, ni rukavicej.
5. Bej v dosku, pominaj Moskvu.
6. Beda na bede, bedoj pogonjaet.
7. Beda bedu rodit, bedoj sgubit, bedoj pominaet.
8. Beda navalila, mužika sovsem zadavila.
9. Beda prixodit pudami, a uxodit zolotnikami. ' Grief arrives in poods, but leaves in ounces.'
10. Bednomu zjat'ju i test' ne rad.
11. Beg ne česten, da zdorov. 'Running away is not honorable, but [is] sound .'
12. Bez boga svet ne stoit, bez carja zemlja ne pravitsja.
13. Bez tolku molites', bez mery sogrešaete.
14. Bezdetnyj umret, i sobaka ne voz'met.
15. Bitva slavna lučše mira studna.
16. Bljudi xleb pro edu, a kopejku pro bedu.
17. Bog ljubit pravednika, a gospodin jabednika. 'God loves the righteous one, and the master [loves] the sneak.'
18. Bog ne svoj brat, ne uverneš'sja.
19. Bog svoe stroit.
20. Bogatyj ne saxar zoblet, ubogij ne kamen' gložet.
21. Bogatyj xot' vret, i to vprok idet.
22. Bogu-to s perst, a čertu-to s pest.
23. Bol'še plačeš' — men'še skačeš'. 'The more you cry, the less you jump.'
24. Brat na brata — pušče supostata.
25. Bud' žena xot' koza, liš' by zolotye roga.
26. Bud' xot' durakom, da boltaj jazykom.
27. Byla by izba, budut i tarakany.
28. Byli b xleb da odeža, tak i el by leža.
29. Carstvo razdelitsja — skoro razoritsja.
30. Cerkov' grabit, da kolokol'nju kroet. 'The church takes away, but builds a bell-tower.'
31. Cerkovnogo činu vzjat' — kutejnikom stanut zvat'.
32. Dal'še solnca ne sošljut.
33. Dary darjat, da otdarki gljadjat.
34. Delo ne medved', v les ne ujdet.
35. Den' k večeru, a rabota k zavtremu. 'The day towards the evening, and the work towards the morrow.'
36. Den'gi idut k bogatomu, a zlydni k ubogomu. 'Money goes to the rich one, and harm [goes] to the poor one.'
37. Den'gi prax — nu ix v tartararax.

38. Desjat'ju primer', odnova otrež'.
39. Devič'ja pamjat' da devičij styd — do poroga.
40. Dlja pros'by bednogo u bogatogo uši gluxi.
41. Do carja daleko, do boga vysoko. 'The tsar is far away, God is far above.'
42. Dobraja žena — veseľe, a xudaja — zloe zeľe. 'A good wife is a joy, a bad one is a poisonous plant.'
43. Dobraja otgovorka stoit dela.
44. Dobro togo bit', kto plačet, a učit', kto slušaet.
45. Dobryj čelovek v dobre proživet vek.
46. Dobrye ljudi na mir branjatsja.
47. Dolgo li, skoro li, a vs'e budet konec.
48. Dolgovat' na Donu, zakladyvat' ženu.
49. Dorogo da milo, deševo da gnilo. 'Expensive is nice, cheap is rotten.'
50. Dovedetsja ž i kotu s peči soskočit'.
51. Durak sam na sebja nagovarivaet.
52. Durak streljaet — bog puli nosit.
53. Durakov ni orut, ni sejut, a sami rodjatsja.
54. Duša v grexax, ta i v otvete.
55. Duška — ne sučka: ne vyšleš' von, kogda bog ne voz'met.
56. Dve baran'i golovy v odin kotel ne lezut.
57. Gde baby gladki, tam net i vody v kadke.
58. Gde dve baby, tam suem, gde tri, tam sodom.
59. Gde groza, tut i vedro.
60. Gde čaetsja radostno, tam vstretitsja gorestno.
61. Gde žit', tem i slyt'.
62. Gde kto roditsja, tam i prigoditsja.
63. Gde mnogo tolkov, tam malo tolku.
64. Gde stal, tam i stan.
65. Gde star'ja, tam i stat'ja.
66. Gde tonko, tam i rvetsja.
67. Gde xolodno, tut i golodno.
68. Gde xvost načalo, tam golova močalo.
69. Gde zabor, tut i vor.
70. Gladen'kaja golovka — otcu-materi ne kormilec.
71. Glaza gljadjat, a ruki delajut.
72. Glaza straščajut, a ruki delajut.
73. Gluxoj, čto šal'noj: čego ne doslyšit, to sovret.
74. Gol' bednee loxmot'ja.
75. Gol' mudra, beret s utra.
76. Gol' na vydumki torovata.
77. Golodnomu vzdyxaetsja, sytomu otrygaetsja. 'The hungry one feels like sighing, the contented one like belching.'
78. Golova ne kolyšek: ne šapku na nee vešat'.
79. Golova sverbit k golovomojke.
80. Gore — čto more: ni pereplyt', ni vylakat'.
81. Gore gorjuj, a rukami vojuj. 'Grieve your grief, but fight with your hands.'

82. Gore ne more: vyp'eš' do dna. Oxneš' — ne izdoxneš'.
83. Gospod' bogatit i vysit, ubožit i smirjaet.
84. Govori tak, čtob nadolgo stalo.
85. Govoriš' po sovetu, a vyjdet po vsemu svetu.
86. Čego žena ne ljubit, togo mužu vek ne edat'.
87. Čego ne ljubiš', togo i ne kupiš'.
88. Čego ne poiščeš', togo ne syščeš'. 'What you don't seek, that you won't find.'
89. Čego nemnožko, togo ne meči v okoško.
90. Čelovek sam sebe ubijca.
91. Čemu ne god, tomu i ne vod.
92. Černogo kobelja ne vymoeš' dobela.
93. Prošlo vrozn' da vkos' — xot' bros'.
94. Čerta njančit' — ne unjančit'.
95. Čin čina počitaj, i men'šoj na kraj!
96. Čistij sčet aptekarskij — temnye noči osennie.
97. Čto bol'še natjagivat', to skoree lopnet.
98. Čto grešno, to i smešno.
99. Čto gus' bez vody, to mužik bez ženy. 'As a goose without water so is a man without wife.'
100. Čto ni naživeš', to i proživeš'.
101. Čto russkomu zdorovo, to nemcu smert'.
102. Čto za kov, to i za nož. 'The kind of smith's work [determines] the kind of knife.'
103. I boga xvalim i grešim.
104. I durak prazdniki znaet, da budnej ne pomnit.
105. I kamen' leža moxom obrastaet.
106. I na dobrogo konja byvaet spotyčka.
107. I po zajač'emu sledu doxodjat do medvedja.
108. I stydlivyj kusoček do pory ležit.
109. I temnyj stakančik v golovu b'et.
110. I to byvaet, čto ovca volka s`edaet.
111. I u cygana duša ne pogana.
112. Idi skoro — nagoniš' gore; idi tixo — tebja nagonit lixo.
113. Iže, ne vri že; ego že, ne prigože.
114. Ikony ne pokupajut, a menjajut.
115. Inomu vse s ruk sxodit.
116. Istora deševa, da koryst' doroga.
117. Iz mnogix malyx vyxodit odno bol'šoe.
118. Žalet' vina — ne vidat' gostej.
119. Ženilsja, da sam sebe podivilsja, čto ni bogu, ni ljudjam ne sgodilsja.
120. Živ vo ploti, čto svin'ja v obroti.
121. Živ'etsja — poetsja; umiraetsja — drjagaetsja. 'Living is singing; dying is kicking one's feet.'
122. Živi ne lož'ju — budet po-bož'ju.
123. Živi, koli možetsja; pomiraj, koli xočetsja.
124. Živi, ni o čem ne tuži; vse proživeš' — avos' ešče naživeš'
125. Žizn' žizni rozn'. 'All lives are not alike.'
126. Kaby na xmel' ne moroz, tak on by i tyn pereros.

127. Kačerga v peči xozjajka.
128. Kak mir zaxočet, rassudit, porjadit, postavit, povolit, prigovorit, položit; mirskaja volja.
129. Kak rža na bolote belyj sneg poedala, tak kručinuška dobra molodca sokrušala.
130. Kazennoe dobro straxom ogoroženo.
131. Knigami ne lodygami igrat'.
132. Kogo mimo, a kogo i v rylo.
133. Kol da broden' vsjudu goden.
134. Koli gospod' ne soxranit grada, to vsue straža i ograda.
135. Koli xud knjaz', tak v grjaz'.
136. Komu blin, komu klin, a komu prosto šiš. 'One gets a pancake, another one a wedge, and yet another nothing at all.'
137. Komu žit', a komu gnit'. 'One's fate is to live, another's to rot.'
138. Komu nevdomek, tot dobryj čelovek.
139. Komu poživetsja, u togo i petux nesetsja.
140. Kotoraja korova pala, ta po dva udoja davala.
141. Kotoru storonu vojuet, v toj i gorjuet.
142. Koška skrebet na svoj na xrebet. 'A cat scratches her own back.'
143. Kradenaja kobyla ne v primer deševle kuplennoj obojdetsja.
144. Kresty da perstni — te ž den'gi.
145. Krivo, da igrivo; prjamo, da uprjamo. 'Crooked, but playful; straight, but stubborn.'
146. Krjučkovatomu nosu nedolgo žit'.
147. Kto bol'še znaet, tomu i knigi v ruki.
148. Kto dobro tvorit, togo zlo ne vredit. 'He who does right won't get hurt.'
149. Kto dolgo spit, tomu bog prostit.
150. Kto žit' ne umel, togo pomirat' ne vyučiš'.
151. Kto kogo slomit, tot togo i topčet. 'The one who breaks you is the one who tramples you.'
152. Kto kurit tabačok, tot Xristov mužičok.
153. Kto pervee, tot pravee. 'He who's faster is righter.'
154. Kto podnosit, tot sam ne prosit.
155. Kto porosenka ukral, u togo v ušax vereščit.
156. Kto prazdniku rad, tot do svetu p'jan.
157. Kto skoro zasypaet, nedolgo proživet.
158. Kto smel, tot i s`el. 'He who's daring is full.'
159. Kto stroit, a kto zorit. 'One builds, another destroys.'
160. Kto v Moskve ne byval, krasoty ne vidal. 'He who hasn't been to Moscow hasn't seen [any] beauty.'
161. Kto v pjatok pered blagoveščeniem postitsja, ot naprasnogo ubijstva soxranitsja. 'He who fasts on the Friday before Lady Day will save himself from a sudden murder.'
162. Kto xočet mnogo znat', tomu nado malo spat'.
163. Kto zakony pišet, tot ix i lomaet. 'He who writes laws also breaks them.'
164. Kuda kozel, tuda i baran. 'The way the he-goat [goes] that way also the ram [goes].'
165. Kuda vorona letit, tuda i gljadit.
166. Kukuška kukuet — gore veščuet.
167. Kupiš' — platiš', prodaeš' — plačeš'. 'You buy — you pay, you sell — you cry.'
168. Kobylke brod, kurice potop.
169. Lenivyj sidja spit, leža rabotaet.

170. Letos' nynešnego lučše.
171. Libo den'gu dadut, libo v rylo poddadut.
172. Lixoe lixim izbyvaetsja. 'Evil is countered with evil.'
173. Lixoe lixomu, a dobroe dobromu. 'Evil to the evil, and goodness to the good.'
174. Ložka medu, bočka degtju. 'A spoonful of honey, a barrel of tar.'
175. Lomotu xromotoju isceljajut.
176. Lučše bojat'sja, čem ne bojat'sja.
177. Lučše niščij pravdivyj, čem tysjačnik lživyj.
178. Lučše po miru sbirat', čem čužoe brat'.
179. Lučše s dobrym poterjat', čem s blagim najti.
180. Lučše umirat' v pole, čem v bab'em podole. 'It's better to die in the field than in a woman's skirt.'
181. Lučše v pučinu, čem v kručinu. 'Better in to the deep sea than in to grief.'
182. Ljubit i niščij svoe xlamovišče.
183. Ljubov' bratskaja — sojuz xristianskij.
184. Malo l' čego xočetsja, da v karmane koletsja.
185. Mat' i bija ne b'et.
186. Melka reka, da kruty berega.
187. Men'še stroj, da čašče kroj!
188. Milost' nad grexom — čto voda nad ognem.
189. Mir da lad — bož'ja blagodat'.
190. Mir, čto ogorod: v nem vse rastet.
191. Mnogo na svete durakov: vsex ne perečteš', ne tokma čto ne pereučiš'.
192. Mnogo novogo, da malo xorošego.
193. Molčankoj nikogo ne obidiš'.
194. Molodoj sxvastaet, čto i staryj ne sxrjastaet.
195. Molviš' — ne vorotiš', a pljuneš' — ne podymeš'.
196. Most ne velikij post, možno i ob`exat'.
197. Muž s ženoj branitsja, da pod odnu šubu ložitsja.
198. Muž sogrešil, tak v ljudjax grex; a žena sogrešila, domoj prinesla.
199. Mužik da sobaka vsegda na dvore, a baba da koška zavsegda v izbe. 'Man and dog are always outdoors, while woman and cat [are] always in the hut.'
200. Mužiki derutsja v rasxodku, a baby v kučku.
201. Na boga nadejsja, a sam ne plošaj!
202. Na den'gax net znaku.
203. Na den'gu sud, na bezdenež'e ne osud'.
204. Na dume, čto pod dymom; na skazkax, čto na salazkax.
205. Na goloe brjuxo saditsja muxa.
206. Na každogo vora mnogo prostora.
207. Na krivoj sud, čto na milost' — obrazca net.
208. Na laskovoe slovo ne kidajsja, na gruboe ne gnevajsja.
209. Na mir ničego ne smenjajut.
210. Na ostruju kosu mnogo pokosu.
211. Na poveter'e pogody ne uznat'.
212. Na jamu drjazgu ne naxlamiš'sja, na smert' detej ne narožaeš'sja. 'One won't pile up garbage at the garbage-dump, nor escape death regardless of how many children he has.'

213. Na jamu ne napaseš'sja xlamu. 'One won't pile up garbage at the garbage-dump.'
214. Na Rusi nikto s golodu ne umiryval.
215. Na službu ne naprašivajsja, ot služby ne otprašivajsja!
216. Na smert', čto na solnce, vo vse glaza ne vzgljaneš'.
217. Na svoi dolgi zabytčiki, na čužie pamjatčiki. 'One forgets his own debts, [but] remembers other people's.'
218. Na trex svinej kormu ne razdelit.
219. Na veter života ne napaseš'sja, na smert' detej ne narožaeš'sja.
220. Na vkus, na cvet mastera net. 'There is no master for taste and color.'
221. Na vse volja sozdatelja.
222. Na vsjakogo vralja po semi axal'ščikov.
223. Nad durakami net starosty.
224. Nakormit' ne nakormili, a ukorit' ukorili.
225. Naletaet i topor na suk.
226. Naličnye denežki — koldunčiki.
227. Nanos ukažet, gde voda byla.
228. Napered ne uznaeš', gde najdeš', gde poterjaeš'.
229. Naskol'ko ub'eš', nastol'ko i uedeš'.
230. Naskoro delat' — peredelyvat'.
231. Ne b'et strela tatarina.
232. Ne bud' gramoten, bud' pamjaten!
233. Ne bud' izroden, a bud' prigoden. 'Don't be noble-born, but be skillful.'
234. Ne byv zvonarem, ne byt' i ponomarem.
235. Ne dlja boga molitva, a dlja ubožestva.
236. Ne gnevi boga ropotom, molis' emu šepotom.
237. Ne goditsja bogu molit'sja, goditsja gorški pokryt'. 'If it [i.e., icon] doesn't answer your prayers, it's good for covering a pot.'
238. Ne govori pravdy, ne terjaj družby! 'You don't tell the truth, don't lose your friends.'
239. Ne žal' spiny, a žal' dubiny.
240. Ne žiloj — ne živoj. 'Not lively — not (a)live.'
241. Ne lez' v petlju, i golovy ne uvjaziš'.
242. Ne mudreno zapixnut' mutovku, mudreno vytaščit'.
243. Ne muč' xristianskoj duši prežde smerti.
244. Ne opjat' zatevat'.
245. Ne ot svata, čto devka kosmata.
246. Ne ot zel'ja umirajut, ot smerti.
247. Ne pervuju volku zimu zimovat'.
248. Ne pojmal karasja — pojmaeš' ščuku.
249. Ne podivitsja zloba milosti.
250. Ne pori, kogda šit' ne znaeš'.
251. Ne proigrav, ne vyigraeš'.
252. Ne rada baba povoju, rada b pokoju. 'A woman enjoys not a head-scarf, but [rather] idleness.'
253. Ne s dobrogo umysla zly koren'ja kopajut.
254. Ne stol'ko smertej, skol'ko skorbej.
255. Ne strašny slydni za gorami.

256. Ne sytno prokljatoe bylie, eže po-ellinski obilie.
257. Ne to dorogo, čto krasnogo zolota, a dorogo, čto dobrogo masterstva. 'It is not what is made in red (i.e., pretty) gold that is expensive, but expensive is what is made by a good master.'
258. Ne to stoja prostojat', ne to sidja prosidet', ne to leža proležat'.
259. Ne toropi: daj umyt'sja, da pomolit'sja, da perekusit'!
260. Ne u ruk strjapnja — pačkotnja.
261. Ne ubogij dolžaet, a bogatyj.
262. Ne ugadaeš', gde najdeš', gde poterjaeš'.
263. Ne učis' pivo pit', učis' solod rastit'? 'Don't learn how to drink beer, learn how to grow barley.'
264. Ne uznav gorja, ne uznaeš' i radosti. 'Without knowing [what] grief [is], you won't know [what] joy [is].'
265. Ne v naklad, koli est' zaklad.
266. Ne velik kločok, da v sud voločet.
267. Ne velik, da širok, kaftan korotok.
268. Ne velika prigoršnja, da mnogo v nej ščepotej.
269. Ne vo vsjakoj tuče grom; a i grom, da ne grjanet; a i grjanet, da ne po nas; a i po nas — avos' opalit, ne ub'et. 'Not in every coud there is a thunder; and even if [there's] thunder, it won't strike; and even if it strikes, it won't [strike] us; and even if [strikes] us — chances are it will [just] singe, not kill.'
270. Ne vse dolžno, čto možno.
271. Ne vskormivši malogo, ne vidat' i starogo.
272. Ne vsjak ženitsja, kto prisvatalsja.
273. Ne vsjakogo b'jut, kto kričit.
274. Ne šumi u bragi: ne pozovut k pivu.
275. Nebylica na tarakan'ix nožkax xodit.
276. Nečego godit', kogda pop kadit.
277. Nečego govorit', da: a? Nečego govorit', tak: tovo-vono, kak ono.
278. Nemnogo čitaj, da mnogo razumej! 'Read little, but understand a lot.'
279. Nemnogo medu v pustyx voščinax.
280. Nepravda svetom načalas', svetom i končitsja.
281. Nepravednoe stjažanie — prax.
282. Neprodažnomu konju i ceny net.
283. Net živoj propasti.
284. Net takoj lošadi, čtoby ne spotykalas'.
285. Nevesta četyrnadcati verškov v otrube.
286. Neznaemaja prjamizna navodit na kriviznu. 'An unknown right leads to a wrong.'
287. Ni pravedniku venca, ni grešniku konca. '[There is] neither a nimbus for the righteous one, nor a rope-end for the sinful one.'
288. Ni v gorode Bogdan, ni v sele Selifan. 'Neither a Bogdan in the town, nor a Selifan in the village.'
289. Nikto za jazyk ne tjanet.
290. Nošamoe nositsja, deržamoe deržitsja.
291. Nužda gorjuet, nužda vojuet.
292. Nužda semeryx zadavila, a radost' odnomu dostalas'.
293. Ob kume ne žit', a i bez kuma ne žit'.

294. Odin vsego ne uznaet.
295. Odin, kak bog, kak perst, kak porox v glazu, kak versta v pole, kak makov cvet. 'All alone like God, like a finger, like [a piece of] powder/dust in the eye, like a verst in a field, like a poppy flower.'
296. Odna beda ne nadokučit, a nadokučit, tak proučit. 'A single burden won't depress you, and if it does depress you, then it will teach a lesson.'
297. Okačivajsja da povoračivajsja.
298. Orlom komara ne travjat.
299. Ostatok lučše nedostatka.
300. Ot berega otstaneš', k drugomu ne pristaneš', ni tak, ni sjak i staneš'. 'You're to far from one bank, you cannot reach the other, neither one way nor the other will you get there.'
301. Ot čužix vorot legok povorot.
302. Ot žali ne plakat' stat'.
303. Ot naxvalu ljudi razživajutsja.
304. Ot uma sxodjat s uma, a bez uma ne sojdeš' s uma. 'Having brains one goes crazy, and with no brains one won't go crazy.'
305. Ovce s volkom ploxo žit'.
306. Pej, ne napivajsja; ljubi, da ne vljubljajsja; igraj, da ne otygryvajsja! 'Drink, [but] don't get drunk; love, [but] don't fall in love; play, [but] don't make up all you have lost.'
307. Pero legče soxi.
308. Pervyx ščenjat za zabor mečut.
309. Pesnju igrat' — ne pole orat'.
310. Pilit' piloj, gnut'sja spinoj.
311. Pijavica vop'etsja — god ne sorvetsja.
312. Pleti lapti ne jazykom, a kočadykom!
313. Ploxo možetsja, čto-to ežitsja.
314. Ploxo ne kladi, v grex ne vvodi. 'Don't leave your posessions in a wrong place, don't tempt [someone] into sin.'
315. Ploxo ne kladi, vora v grex ne vvodi!
316. Ploxoj muž umret, dobraja žena po dvoram pojdet. 'A bad husband dies, and a good wife will go from homestead to homestead.'
317. Pljasat' smolodu učis', pod starost' ne naučiš'sja. 'Learn how to dance in your youth, in your old days you won't learn [how to dance].'
318. Po delom voru i muka.
319. Po saže xot' glad', xot' bej — vse černo.
320. Pod lesom vidiš', a pod nosom net.
321. Pod'jačij — porody sobačej; prikaznyj — narod prolaznyj.
322. Podarok — svečki ogarok.
323. Podavajsja po rukam, tak legče budet volosam. 'Extend your hand(s) to others in order to avoid punishment [such as being pulled by your hair].'
324. Podi v korobejku, podaj kopejku; podi v sunduček, podaj pjatačok; podi v ognivenku, podaj grivenku.
325. Pogodit' — ne ustat', bylo b poterpéžnoe.
326. Počin vsego dorože.
327. Poživeš' na veku — poklonič'sja i xrjaku.
328. Poklon s xoxlom, čelobit'e s šiškoj.

329. Pokoj p'et vodu, a bespokojstvo med.
330. Pomoč' ne ustat', tak nado delo znat'.
331. Popostis', pomolis', da i v put' soberis'?
332. Popu kunicu, d'jakonu lisicu, ponomarju-gorjunu serogo zajku, a prosvirne-xlopuše — zajač'i uši.
333. Pora, čto železo: kuj, pokole kipit!
334. Porožnem ne naklanjaeš'sja.
335. Porugat'sja — dušu otvesti; podrat'sja — serdce povytrjasti.
336. Posol, čto mex: čto v nego vložiš', to i neset. 'A preserve is the same as a bellows: what you put into it is what it holds.'
337. Povtoren'e — mat' učen'ja.
338. Pravda — ne mutovka: povertev, da ne pokineš'.
339. Pravda, kak osa, lezet v glaza.
340. Pridet nuža — živet i togo xuže.
341. Prodavcovoj božbe ne vverjajsja.
342. Prosavvilsja esi, provarvarilsja esi.
343. Protivnoe zel'e lučše bolezni.
344. Prošlogo ne vorotiš'. 'One can't reverse the bygone.'
345. Prošlogo pominaem, grjaduščego čaem.
346. Prošlomu ne kajsja: skoro sostareeš'sja.
347. Pryt'ju ne udiviš', a sebja istomiš'.
348. Pugana vorona i kusta boitsja.
349. Jako že blagoslovljaetsja, tako i krestitsja.
350. Jazyk — stjag, družinu vodit.
351. Razdum'e, čto razvil'e; a skoroxvat, čto kopyl.
352. Razumnyj vidit, čto za čem idet.
353. Robkij muž i lestovok boitsja.
354. Ruž'ja, ženy i sobaki na poderžanie ne dajut.
355. Ruka ruku moet. 'A hand washes a hand.'
356. Ruki, nogi i golova k tulovišču pristavleny.
357. Rus' svjataja, pravoslavnaja, bogatyrskaja, mat' svjatorusskaja zemlja.
358. Russkij bog velik. 'The Russian God is great.'
359. Ryba iščet, gde glubže, a čelovek, gde lučše.
360. Ryžij da krasnyj — čelovek opasnyj.
361. S brančivoj kumoj ne naproščaeš'sja.
362. S durakom piva ne svariš'; a i svariš', tak ne razop'eš'.
363. S gory vskač', a v goru — xot' plač'!
364. S kem povedeš'sja, ot togo i nabereš'sja.
365. S pogljaden'ja syt ne budeš'.
366. S sumoj idti — stydno, a sidet' doma — tošno.
367. S umom sumu kroit', a bez uma — tol'ko kožu travit'.
368. Sam ne smysli, dobryx ljudej ne slušaj, pojdet delo na lad.
369. Sapožnik vsegda bez sapogov.
370. Sej xot' v nenast'e, da ubiraj v vedro!
371. Sedina v borodu, a bes v rebro.
372. Selo dlja dvorov, a rel' dlja vorov. 'Village is for yards, and the lock is for thieves.'

373. Sem' bed — odin otvet.
374. Semena s`edim, tak po urožaju tužit' ne stanem.
375. Serdis' ne serdis', a lučše pokoris'. 'Whether you are angry or not, it is better for you to yield.'
376. Serditaja sobaka volku koryst'.
377. Sčast'e ezdit v karete, a s umom idet peškom.
378. Sčast'e skoro pokidaet, a dobraja nadežda — nikogda.
379. Sčast'e so sčast'em sojdetsja, i to bez uma ne razminetsja.
380. Sčastlivym byt' — vsem dosadit'.
381. Skazal krasno — po izbam pošlo; a smolčitsja — sebe prigoditsja.
382. Skol'ko golov, stol'ko umov. 'As many heads, that many minds.'
383. Skoločenaja posuda dva veka živet.
384. Skoro xorošo ne roditsja.
385. Skoro, tak ladno; a sporo, tak spasibo.
386. Skota ne deržat', i uskot'ja ne vidat'.
387. Slepoj kurice vse pšenica.
388. SlepOj xot' oščup'ju, da brodit; a zrja i zrjačij spotykaetsja.
389. Smert' da žena — bogom suždena.
390. Smolodu proreška — pod starost' dyra.
391. Sobiraj po jagodke — nabereš' kuzovok.
392. Soldat bez ruž'ja — tot že baran.
393. Sonliv, tak i leniv.
394. Sonnyj da p'janyj — boževol'nyj.
395. Spalennoe dolgo paxnet. 'What is scorched smells for a long time.'
396. Star, čto sobaka, a mal, čto ščenok. 'The old one is [like] a dog, and the little one is [like] a puppy.'
397. Staryj xočet spat', a molodoj — igrat'.
398. Stoja rasteš' vdvoe. 'Standing you grow double.'
399. Sud pravyj krivogo dela ne vypravit a krivoj sud pravoe skrivit. 'The just judgement can't correct a wrong deed, but the crooked judgement will distort a good deed.'
400. Sudejskij karman — čto popovskoe brjuxo.
401. Sukonnyj jazyk; jazyk s podboem.
402. Suprotiv svaxi ne sxvastat'; a i sxvastat', tak ne sxrjastat'.
403. Svekrov' košku b'et, a nevestke navetki daet.
404. Svinopas i rubašku propas.
405. Syn na seni ne posadit, a doč' s senej ne ssadit.
406. Sytyj kon' vodu vozit, toščego na podprugax poit' vodjat. 'The well fed horse pulls water, the fasting one is led to the well by the saddle-girth.'
407. Tatarskomu mjasoedu net konca.
408. Temna nočen'ka — rodnaja matuška.
409. Test' ljubit čest', zjat' ljubit vzjat', a šurin glaza ščurit.
410. To ne beda, čto po karmanam pošla.
411. To ne divo, čto u bogatogo mnogo piva.
412. To ne vor, čto xorošo kradet, a to vor, čto xorošo koncy xoronit. 'A [real] thief is not the one who steals well, but the one who covers [his] traces well.'
413. Tol'ko uma na den'gi ne kupit' u kogo deneg net.

414. Tol'ko u molodca i zolotca, čto pugovka olovca.
415. Tolk da lad — tut i klad.
416. Tolku vek, a tolku net.
417. Tolst, da prost; tonok, da zvonok.
418. Tomu xuda ne otbyt', kto privyk nepravdoj žit'.
419. Tot čelovek i dorog, u kogo nos dolog.
420. Tošno tomu, kto sražaetsja, a tošnee tomu, kto ostanetsja. 'Wretched is the one who fights, but even more wretched is the one who stays behind.'
421. Trut truta probivaet. 'Tinder pierces tinder.'
422. U bogatogo i po borode maslo tečet.
423. U carja kolokol po vsej Rossii.
424. U carja ruki dolgi.
425. U sčastlivogo umiraet nedrug, u bessčastnogo drug.
426. U skupogo ne vymolotiš'.
427. Ubytok navodit na pribytok.
428. Um da umec, da tretij dubec. 'Brains and little brains, and a third [is] a fool.'
429. Um sjažkom pod nebesa uxodit.
430. Uma mnogo, da deneg ne tak — i vek durak.
431. Umer telok — oprostal xlevok. Korova pala — stojlo oprostala.
432. Umejuči i zakljatoj klad vynimajut.
433. Umirat' — ne lapti kovyrjat': leg pod obraza, da vypučil glaza, i delo s koncom.
434. Umnyj slova boitsja, glupyj — pugi.
435. Urodila mat', čto i zemlja ne primat.
436. V devkax siženo — plakano; zamuž koženo — vyto.
437. V dobryj čas molvit', v xudoj promolčat'. 'Speak in good times, [and] keep silent in bad times.'
438. V dolgu, kak v šelku.
439. V čem smex, v tom i grex. 'Where there is laughter there there is sin.'
440. V čužuju dušu ne vlezeš'.
441. V kom styd, v tom i strax. 'He who knows shame knows fear as well.'
442. V krepostnyx delax po krepostjam, v nekrepostnyx — po rozyskam. 'If you [i.e., Russian peasant] stay on the land, you're bound by the law, if you run away, by arrest warrant.'
443. V Moskve tolsto zvonjat, da tonko edjat.
444. V Moskve vse najdeš', krome ptič'ego moloka.
445. V odnu noč' zima stanovitsja.
446. V sredu s`edim, tak v četverg ne gljadim.
447. V stepi prostor, v lesu ugod'e. 'There is space in the steppe, there is comfort in the forest.'
448. V sxvatke sčast'e — velikoe delo.
449. Vek živi, vek učis'.
450. Ješč' ješči rozn', a inuju — xot' bros'. 'Two things are not alike, and the third you may as well throw away.'
451. Vina golovu klonit. 'It is guilt that bends one's head.'
452. Vmeste tošno, a rozno skučno.
453. Voevoda god pomečaet, a dva otvečaet.
454. Volka bojat'sja — i ot belki bežat'.
455. Volos v volos, golos v golos. 'A hair to a hair, a voice to a voice.'

456. Vor voru terpit. 'A thief tolerates a thief.'
457. Vorona prjamo letaet, da za more ne popadaet; kosatka krjukami letaet, da za more popadaet. 'A crow flies straight, and doesn't reach overseas; a swallow flies making detours, and reaches overseas.'
458. Vremenem v gorku, a vremenem v norku. 'In due time into the mountain, in due time into the burrow.'
459. Vremeni ne vorotiš'.
460. Vremja na dudku ne idet.
461. Vri na obed, da pokidaj i na užin!
462. Vse delo v počine.
463. Vse kupiš', a otca-materi ne kupiš'.
464. Vse na svete kryto korytom.
465. Vsegda ždi bedy ot bol'šoj vody.
466. Vsjakaja soroka ot svoego jazyka pogibaet.
467. Vsjakij čelovek vpered smotrit.
468. Vsjakij mirjanin svoemu bratu sem'janin.
469. Vsjakogo žita po lopate.
470. Vsjakogo neta pripaseno s leta.
471. Šilom morja ne nagreeš'.
472. Xleb v puti ne tjagost'.
473. Xleba ni kuska — vezde toska.
474. Xodi ne šatajsja, govori ne zaikajsja, eš' ne ob`edajsja, stoj ne kačajsja! 'Walk — don't swing, speak — don't stammer, eat — don't overeat, stand — don't sway!'
475. Xoroš solod, xorošo i smolot.
476. Xorošo na peči paxat', da zavoračivat' kruto.
477. Xorošo na xorošo rovno med s kalačom; a xudo na xudo — rovno s poxmel'ja batož'em. 'Good on top of good — [is] exactly like honey with a roll; but bad on top of bad — [is] exactly like after a hang-over being beaten with sticks.'
478. Xrabr posle rati, kak zalez na polati.
479. Xudaja kljača zrja kuda skačet.
480. Xudaja sbruja — nesčastnyj vyezd.
481. Xudo žit' tomu, u kogo ničego net v domu.
482. Xudoj mir lučše dobroj draki.
483. Xudoe delo vezde pospelo.
484. Za grex i koža pod zastrex.
485. Za čužoj golovoj spolagorja žit'.
486. Za mužninu ženu est' komu vstupit'sja.
487. Za neblagodarnyx bog blagodarit.
488. Za vdovoju sam bog s kalitoju.
489. Za vinu pob'jut — ne voz nav'jut.
490. Za vse kajsja, tol'ko za dobro ne kajsja.
491. Zasižennoe jajco — vsegda boltun.
492. Zastupi čertu dver', a on v okno.
493. Zavedi sperva xlevinu, a tam i životinu!
494. Zdorov budu — i deneg dobudu.
495. Zdorov'e vsego dorože. 'Health is dearer than anything.'

496. Zmeja kusaet ne dlja sytosti, a radi lixosti. 'A snake bites not because she is hungry, but because she is evil.'
497. Zolotoe vremja — molodye leta.
498. Zorja vgonit, zarja vygonit.
499. Zuby vo vremja edy skrypjat — na čužoj xleb.
500. Ěka dikovina — ryba sigovina.

The Serbian Corpus

(A literal translation is provided only for the proverbs cited in Chapters III, IV and V.)

1. Ako dođe prav, ne iziđe zdrav; ako dođe kriv, ne iziđe živ.
2. Ako zima ustima ne ujede, ona repom ošine.
3. Ako jezik ne izlaja, glava ne isklima.
4. Ako je ko jači, no i Bog je svačij.
5. Ako je preša umrijeti, nije kopati. 'If there's a hurry to die, there's no [hurry] to hoe.'
6. Ako je sve Bog ubio, nije trpež i lijepu riječ.
7. Ako ne načuva, ne nateče. 'If you don't save, you don't earn.'
8. Ako neće nećo, a ono hoće hoćo. 'If the Not-Willing-One doesn't want, than the Willing-One wants.'
9. Ako svoj svoga i ne hrani, ali teško onom ko ga nema da ga brani. 'Even if it's not one's own people that feed him, unlucky is he if he don't have them to protect him.'
10. Ako se kusom ne nakusa, jezikom se ne naliza.
11. Ako će trista, bez popa ništa.
12. Ako Turčin pogine, buli drugi ne gine. 'If the Turk perishes, the bula [Moslem woman] surely gets another one.'
13. Badavad se ni Božij grob ne čuva.
14. Batina ima dva kraja.
15. Bez društva nema junaštva.
16. Bez zbora nema dogovora.
17. Birtaš misli jedno a pijanica drugo.
18. Biser ne valja pred svinje bacati.
19. Bjegunac se drži jednog puta a poćera sto.
20. Bježanova majka pjeva, a Stojanova plače. 'The mother of the Running-Away-One sings, and [the mother] of the Standing-In-Place-One weeps.'
21. Blago onom koga sreća hrani, a teško onom koga snaga hrani! 'Lucky is he who is fed by fortune, but unlucky is he who is fed by strength!'
22. Blago onome ko dava, a kuku ko izgleda! 'Lucky is he who gives, and unlucky is he who expects.'
23. Bogatstvo pokriva horjatstvo.
24. Bog visoko, a car daleko.
25. Bog ne da jednom čoeku sva dobra.
26. Bog ne sudi svaki osmi dan.
27. Bogu Božije a caru carevo. 'To God what is God's, and to the tsar what is the tsar's.'
28. Bogu se moli, ali k brijegu grebi.
29. Boj ne bije svijetlo oružje, Već boj bije srce od junaka.

30. Bolan se pita, a zdravome se daje.
31. Bolje vide dva oka nego jedno.
32. Bolje zlato i poizderato Nego srebro iz nova kovato.
33. Bolje je znano s manom nego neznano s falom.
34. Bolje je i zaći a zdravo doma doći.
35. Bolje je poviđeti nego viđeti.
36. Bolje je pokliznuti nogom nego jezikom.
37. Bolje se i od po puta vratiti nego rđavim do kraja ići.
38. Bolje je i crn kolač nego prazna torba.
39. Bolji je svračak u ruci nego soko u planini.
40. Braća bila, braća mila.
41. Braća podijeljena susjedi nazvati.
42. Budalaština je različna.
43. Budale kuće zidaju, a mudri ih kupuju. 'The fools build [their] houses, and the wise ones buy them.'
44. Vatra vatru ne žeže. 'Fire doesn't burn fire.'
45. Vatra i voda dobre su sluge, ali zli gospodari.
46. Veži konja đe ti gospodar zapovijeda.
47. Velika drveta dugo rastu, ali za čas padnu. 'Big trees grow for a long time, but fall in a moment.'
48. Vinograd ne ište molitve, nego motike. 'The vinyard doesn't ask for prayers, but for hoes.'
49. Vino i mudroga pobudali.
50. Više valja vjerovati očima nego ušima. 'It is better to trust one's eyes than one's ears.'
51. Više valja jedan valjan nego slabi da je zlatan.
52. Voda ne pazi kumstva ni prijateljstva.
53. Voda riče, a mlini melju. 'Water roars, but mills grind.'
54. Vo se veže za rogove, a čoek za jezik.
55. Vrana vrani očiju ne vadi.
56. Vreme slamu jede. '[It is the] time [that] eats the straw.'
57. Vrijeme grad gradi pa ga vrijeme i razgradi.
58. Galija jednoga ne čeka.
59. Gvožđe se kuje dok je vruće.
60. Gladno oko ne spava.
61. Gladnu svatu i divljake u slast idu.
62. Godine i potreba malo se mogu sakriti.
63. Gola je guza tvrđa od Budima.
64. Gospod ga minuo, a anđeli ga ne susreli.
65. Najmilijeg gosta tri dana je dosta.
66. Gramatika drvena motika.
67. Grdilo je i bruka brat i sestra.
68. Da bula esapi šta meće u pitu, nikad je ne bi jela.
69. Da zna kadija što je rakija, on bi mjesto ćitapa držao bardak pod glavom.
70. Daleko od očiju daleko od srca. 'Away from eyes, away from heart.'
71. Danas jesmo, a sjutra nijesmo. 'Today we are, and tomorrow we aren't.'
72. Da nije sirotinje, ne bi ni sunce grijalo.
73. Darovna ruka siromaška majka.

74. Dan po dan, pak će doći i Đurđev dan.
75. Da se nije mama uzdala, ne bi se ni udala.
76. Dva ata na jednim jaslima ne mogu biti.
77. Dva lješnika orahu su vojska.
78. Digni magaretu klašnje, magaretu lašnje.
79. Dobar glas daleko ide, a zao još dalje.
80. Dobar espap lasno kupca nađe.
81. Dobar konj ili će ohronuti, ili oćoraviti.
82. Dobro je kašto i pametnu ženu poslušati.
83. Dobro je lasno doćerati i na ruku okrenuti.
84. Dok dijete ne zaplače, mati ga se ne sjeća.
85. Dok zmija zmiju ne proždere, ne može aždaha postati. 'Until a snake swallows [another] snake, it can't become a dragon.'
86. Dok imaš, donde i čuvaj.
87. Dok je čoek zdrav, i voda mu je slatka.
88. Dok je čorbe, dosta čorboloka.
89. Dok puška ne pukne, čuti se ne može.
90. Dok se baba dovuče, svadba se provuče.
91. Do svetoga Luke — Kuđ ti drago ruke, A od svetog Luke — Tur' u njedra ruke.
92. Dosta se hoće bolu i bogatu domu.
93. Dockan je onda štađeti kad nestane.
94. Drvo ukraj puta odmah nasječeno.
95. Držati jalovu kravu i sahat to je sve jedno.
96. Drži se glave, a mahni se nogu.
97. Drž se Nova puta, stara prijatelja.
98. Đe velika zvona zvone tu se mala ne čuju.
99. Đevojačkog sela nigđe nema. 'There'no [such thing as] a maid's village.'
100. Đevojka mala ili velika, jednako joj se hoće svatova.
101. Đevojka se svatovima nada, Udovica nada i ne nada, Stara baba zaista ne nada. 'A maid hopes for wedding guests, a widow hopes and doesn't hope, an old women surely doesn't hope.'
102. Đe je mnogo radosti tu ima i žalosti.
103. Đe je obraz tu je i duša.
104. Đe kučak loče tu i laje.
105. Đe laža omrkla tu i osvanula. 'Where the lie is caught by the night, there it's found by the morning light.'
106. Đe su kola mudrosti, tu su dvoja ludosti. 'Where there's one cartload of wisdom, there there are two of madness.'
107. Đe se stariji ne čuju tu Bog ne pomaže. 'Where the elders are not heard, there's no blessing from God.'
108. Đetetu podaj, a ne obreci nikad, kao ni Turčinu.
109. Đe ti kažu mnogo, mali koš nosi.
110. Žalosna i nevoljna lasno je rascvijeliti.
111. Žedan konj vode ne probira.
112. Ženu i izderanu kapu lasno je steći.
113. Živi Boga hvale.
114. Za dobrim se konjem bat čuje.

115. Za zlato rđa ne prianja.
116. Zajam se dava da se vrće.
117. Zaludu je grad za dinar, kad dinara nije.
118. Zaludu je začina, kad nije načina.
119. Zao je komšija veliko zlo.
120. Zao um gotov sud.
121. Zarana se poznaje u kojoj kući može sir biti.
122. Za slanom rukom svašto ide.
123. Zbog sirota sunce sjaje.
124. Zbori pravo, sjedi đe ti drago. 'Speak honestly, [and] sit wherever you like.'
125. Zgoda dug i do sto godina naplaćuje.
126. Zdrav bolesnu ne vjeruje.
127. Zec đe se okoti onđe i pogine.
128. Zima gizde ne gleda.
129. Zlo brzo dođe a polako pođe.
130. Zlo godište roda ište, a nevolja prijatelja.
131. Zna Bog čije ulje u kandilu gori.
132. Zna vrana đe je bara.
133. Zrela voćka sama pada.
134. Zrno po zrno, eto pogača; dlaka po dlaka, eto bjelača; kaplja po kaplja, eto Morača! 'Grain by grain, there's a loaf; hair by hair, there's a white wool sock; drop by drop, there's the Morača (river).'
135. Igla ako i kroz zlato prođe, gola iziđe.
136. Igla će probosti prije mladu kožu nego staru.
137. I duvar uši ima.
138. Iza zime toplo, iza kiše sunce. 'After the winter — warmth, after the rain — sunshine.'
139. Iz drače ruža se rađa.
140. Izio pas talambas: rđava čast, a golem glas.
141. Iz jednoga drveta ikona i lopata.
142. Izješi ništa dosta nije.
143. Iz ropstva ikad a iz groba nikad. 'From slavery ever, and from grave never (i.e., can one escape).'
144. Iz svakog panja ne može se svetac istesati.
145. I konj od sto dukata posrne.
146. I krava se repom brani.
147. Ima pasa i osim šarova.
148. I maslo je začina, ali mu se hoće načina.
149. I pas poznaje svoga gospodara.
150. I panj je lijep obučen i nakićen.
151. Istiha se pečenica peče.
152. I sunce prolazi kroz kaljava mjesta, ali se ne okalja.
153. Iščupaj komarcu nogu, i crijeva su mu na dvoru.
154. Jabuka koja dockan sazri, dugo stoji.
155. Jaka je kobila narod.
156. Jako je magare, ali dva tovare.
157. Ja pravo, ja nikako. 'Either properly, or not at all.'

158. Jača su dvojica nego sam Radojica.
159. Jačega kapom a nejačega šakom. '[Show] the stronger one [your] hat, and the weaker one [your] fist.'
160. Jače je selo od svatova.
161. Jedna koža ne može dva mesa dati.
162. Jedna lasta ne čini proljeća.
163. Jezik gore može posjeći nego mač.
164. Jeko ječi a zdrav zveči. The groaner groans and the healthy person resounds.'
165. Južnu božiću i prijateljskom kolaču ne valja se radovati.
166. Junakova majka najprije zaplače.
167. Kad grmi, svak se sebe boji.
168. Kad đevojke nema, dobra je i baba.
169. Kad je rat, niko nikom nije brat. 'When there's war, no one is brother to anyone.'
170. Kad kiša hoće da udari, najprije počne prokapljivati.
171. Kad mator pas laje valja viđeti šta je.
172. Kad máčka kod kuće nije onda se miši vesele.
173. Kad se đevojka prosi, torba se ne nosi.
174. Kad se lijen nakani, sav svijet popali.
175. Kad čoek nada se pljune, na obraz će pasti.
176. Kad čoek nema svoga dobra, tuđe zlo premeće.
177. Kakav gospodar onaki i mlađi.
178. Kakav gost onaka mu i čast.
179. Kakva je koza takva i loza.
180. Kakva majka onaka i ćerka. 'Like mother like daughter.'
181. Kako ko zna onako i pjeva.
182. Kako koji vjetar puha tako mu se valja obrtati.
183. Kako svirac svira onako valja igrati.
184. Kako stariji svira onako mlađi valja da igra.
185. Kašalj, šuga i ašikovanje ne može se sakriti.
186. Kašto je i glavnica lijepa vajdica.
187. Kiša pada kapljicama, Pak napada lokvicama.
188. Klin klin izbija, a sjekira oba.
189. Kloni se luda kao i sveta.
190. Ko besjedi šta hoće, mora slušati šta neće.
191. Koga nije na djelu, nema mu dijela.
192. Koga tišti onaj i pišti. 'He who's pressed down that one screams.'
193. Ko žali klinac, izgubi potkovu.
194. Ko za ženu nije toga žena bije.
195. Ko ide iz kuće bez ništa, ili nema ništa ili ne zna ništa.
196. Ko izgubi sram ljudski, izgubi i strah Božij.
197. Koja crkva ne pomaže, ne valja joj se moliti.
198. Ko je dužan, taj je tužan.
199. Ko je jači, taj i tlači.
200. Koje oči za svijetom plaču, brzo isplaču.
201. Koje oči zlo čine, one i po svijetu glede.
202. Koji se kamen često premeće, neće mahovinom obrasti.

203. Koji se hrt silom u lov vodi onaj zeca ne hvata.
204. Ko lasno vjeruje, lasno se i prevari.
205. Koliko je sela toliko je navičaja.
206. Ko ljeti gori, zimi godi.
207. Ko ljeti hladuje, zimi gladuje.
208. Kome nije bilo patiti on ne može ni zapaziti.
209. Kome nije vijeka, nije mu ni lijeka. 'He for whom there is no time will find no medicine.'
210. Ko može, i konj mu može.
211. Ko mudro muči, mudro govori. 'He who wisely keeps silent, speaks wisely.'
212. Ko ne skvasi guzice, ne uhvati ribice.
213. Ko ne umali guzi, taj ne ugodi druzi. 'He who doesn't withold from his little behind, that one doesn't please [his] girl-friend.'
214. Ko polako ide, prije doma dođe.
215. Ko po mnogo pije, Po glavi se bije.
216. Ko rano urani, lako zeca ulovi. 'He who gets up early, catches a rabbit easily.'
217. Ko rano ustane, vas dan mu dobar nastane.
218. Ko se kriv kune, od traga gine, a ko se prav kune, od straha. 'He who swears falsely, perishes from [his] trail, and he who swears honestly, [perishes] from fear.'
219. Ko se ljudi ne stidi, ni Boga se ne boji.
220. Ko se sam sjetuje, đavo mu odgovara.
221. Ko se s zlijem združi, On se vazda tuži.
222. Ko tvrđe veže, lakše odrješuje.
223. Ko s carem ratuje, žlje doma nosi.
224. Ko uzimlje, taj je i dužan.
225. Ko umije, tomu dvije.
226. Ko što dobio, to i ponio.
227. Ko što ima, onim i klima.
228. Krivo sjedi, a pravo reci.
229. Krpež i trpež po svijeta drže.
230. Kuvar i podrumar uvijek se dobro razumijevaju.
231. Kuda vojska prolazi, Tud se trava ne nalazi.
232. Kukolj valja iz korijena iščupati.
233. Kurjak kožom plaća.
234. Kus pijevac pile do vijeka.
235. Kutnji lupež kuću kopa.
236. Lakše je kamenje uz brdo valjati nego se s ludim razgovarati.
237. Lakše je steći nego sačuvati.
238. Lasno je sirotu ucvijeliti, al' je mučno ođenuti.
239. Lasno je s punim trbuhom post hvaliti.
240. Lijenom Bog ne pomaže.
241. Lijepa je kalina gledati, al' je grka zobati.
242. Lijepo je svakomu milo.
243. Lovci su da love, a prepelice da bježe. 'It is hunters' duty to hunt, and quails' duty to run.'
244. Ludom mužu i govedari ženu puštaju, a mudrom ne može ni vladika.
245. Lud se daru veseli.

246. Ljudi žito viju na lopatu, a žene na rešeto. 'Men winnow grain with a shovel, and women with a sieve.
247. Ljudi kad buče, žene nek muče.
248. Majstor zato ima kliješta da ne žeže ruke.
249. Mala đeca mala briga, velika đeca velika briga. 'Little children little worry, big children big worry.'
250. Matora drva ne dadu se presađivati.
251. Matora lisica čuva se gvožđa.
252. Među ćoravijem ko ima jedno oko meću ga za cara.
253. Meso valja iz kože, a riba iz vode.
254. Milici u mrvici nema ništa. 'There's nothing in a little crumb for Milica.'
255. Mimogred nije u red.
256. Mirno srce Boga moli, A nemirno suze roni.
257. Mjerom mjeri, a cijenom cijeni. 'Measure with a measure, and price with a price.'
258. Mlado poljubiti i bogato zakinuti nije grjehote.
259. Mlado se drvo savija.
260. Mokroj zemlji malo dažda valja.
261. Moja kućica moja slobodica. 'My little house, my little freedom.'
262. Mrzost na stranu, a korist preda se.
263. Mrke gaće zli biljezi.
264. Mukli pas petne žile kolje.
265. Mutav mutavog najbolje razumije. 'A mute is best understood by [another] mute.'
266. Navika je jedna muka, A odvika dvije muke. 'Forming a habit is one trouble, but kicking it is two [troubles].'
267. Na vuka vika, a iza vuka lisice vuku.
268. Na jednom se volu ne može orati.
269. Najmilijeg gosta Tri dana je dosta.
270. Na koga su mnozi, na togaj su rozi.
271. Na lijepoga dim ide.
272. Namjera dug naplaćuje.
273. Na mlađima svijet ostaje.
274. Na svinjama se svinjski dobije, ali se svinjski i izgubi. 'One can profit on pigs like a pig, but one can also lose like a pig.'
275. Na sirotnoga svakom je laka ruka.
276. Nauka je jedna muka, A oduka dvije muke.
277. Na čijim se kolima voziš, onoga i konje hvali.
278. Ne bi dosta kad ne osta.
279. Ne bi kriv ko viđe, no ko pripoviđe.
280. Ne boji se tica večernjega hvalioca, nego jutrenjega ranioca.
281. Ne boj se od svijetle puške, nego se čuvaj od čađave.
282. Ne valja svašto k srcu primati.
283. Ne valja svoje zvono na tuđeg ovna vezati.
284. Ne guli kore, ne čini gore. 'Don't peel the bark/crust, don't make it worse.'
285. Ne davi se đavo maslom.
286. Nezvanu gostu mjesto za vratima.
287. Ne zna gost što je post.

288. Neimanje nemir od svijeta. 'Not-having [is] the world's trouble.'
289. Ne ispijaj svakoj čaši dance, Izvrnućeš u nebo prkance.
290. Nekome pluto tone, a nekome olovo pluta. 'Someone's cork sinks, and someone's lead floats.'
291. Neko se za list sakrije, a nekoga ne može ni dub da pokrije.
292. Nema gospodstva đe mu ga kuća ne daje.
293. Nema ženstva bez čoestva.
294. Nema osvete bez luda brata.
295. Nema očevine bez krčevine.
296. Nemogoše pojedoše, A nekćeše sve popiše. 'The un-able ones [can] eat, and the not-willing [can] drink everything.'
297. Nemogoše svijet pojedoše.
298. Nemotnjik malo jede, a mnogo troši.
299. Ne nagoji onda konja kad valja na vojsku ići.
300. Ne peče pitu ko ima, nego ko umije.
301. Ne piri đe te ne žeže.
302. Nesreća je dugorepa.
303. Nesta vina, nesta razgovora, nesta blaga, nesta prijatelja. 'Gone the wine, gone the talk, gone the wealth, gone the friends.'
304. Ne udaje se ni jedna đevojka bez prćije, niti i jedan pop ide bez knjige u crkvu.
305. Ne umije magarac plivati, doklen mu voda do ušiju ne dođe.
306. Nešto Turčin silom, nešto pop s knjigom, ele siromahu ne osta ništa.
307. Ni Bog ne može svakom da ugodi.
308. Ni za koga nije dobra kavga.
309. Ni zlu teci ni dobru ostavi. 'Neither earn for the poor, nor leave for the good.'
310. Nije za kozu sijeno.
311. Nije zaludu Bog ne dao kozi dugačak rep.
312. Nije nikakva majstorija među dobrima dobar biti. 'It is no mastery to be good among the good ones.'
313. Nije ni onđe koke, koja snese jaje, pa ga otkakoće. 'It is not a [real] hen which lays an egg and then cackles.'
314. Nije svaka muka do vijeka.
315. Nije svaka ala za dizdara.
316. Nije u onomu u čemu oči vide, nego u onomu u čemu Bog dade.
317. Nije čoeku žao na malo, nego na nepravo.
318. Niko ne vidi šta je kome u trbuhu, nego šta je na njemu. 'Nobody sees what's in one's stomach, but what's on it.'
319. Niko ne živi dva vijeka.
320. Ni pas gole kosti ne glođe.
321. Ni prsti u ruke nijesu svi jednaki.
322. Ni svagđe, ni svašto. 'Neither everywhere, nor everything.'
323. Ni svakome med ni nikome žuč.
324. Ni ubij, Bože, mimo svijet, ni pomozi, Bože, mimo svijet. Do not kill, o God, besides [other] people, nor help, o God, besides [other] people.' (= What you do to others do also to me.)
325. Ni u lakomca mjere, ni u psa vjere.
326. Ništa nije gore od debela buka iz rđava trupa. 'There's nothing worse than a large water vessel from a poor [tree] trunk.'

327. Ništa nije novo na svijetu. 'Nothing is new in the world.'
328. Nuđenu gostu brojeni zalogaji.
329. Nužda zakon izmenjuje. 'The necessity changes the law.'
330. Obećanje je dužnost.
331. Obećanje je ludomu radost.
332. Oda šta svinja sita, od tog i debela.
333. Oda šta se čoek malo boji, od onoga nek se vrlo čuva. 'What one fears little, that he should beware a lot.'
334. Od vješta lovca plaši se lisica.
335. Od vode vode, a od vina nose. 'From water [they] lead [you], and from wine [they] carry [you].'
336. Od zle ćudi nema većega zla na svijetu.
337. Od inata nema gorega zanata.
338. Od nevješta i gora plače.
339. Od plašljiva ždrebeta mnogo puta dobar konj iziđe.
340. Od smrti nema lijeka.
341. Od stara oca đeca siročad.
342. Onaj je novac najbolje potrošen s kojim se četiri zaštede.
343. Onaj mi je brat koji mi je dobru rad. 'He who wishes me well is my brother.'
344. Ono stvar vrijedi, po što se može prodati.
345. Ora vino pije, a namjera dug naplaćuje.
346. Osijeci psu uši, pas kao i pas; osijeci rep, pas kao i pas. 'Cut a dog's ears — the dog [remains] a dog; cut the tail — the dog [remains] a dog.'
347. Ostavi brata, a povedi svata.
348. Oteto, prokleto.
349. Otišao je stid u zid.
350. O čem čoek radio o tom se i hranio. 'What one works on, that he is fed from.'
351. Oči vode a noge nose. 'Eyes lead, and legs carry.'
352. Pametan polako ide a brzo dođe.
353. Pare od mrtvoga živa čine.
354. Pas i na zvijezde laje.
355. Pas koji laje ne ujeda.
356. Pije vino ko ima novaca, A ko nema sjedi kod lonaca.
357. Pjana čoeka i Bog čuva.
358. Pješak na konjika mrzi.
359. Planina gusta nije pusta.
360. Po glasu tica, a po šapama se lav poznaje.
361. Podaj popu popovsko, A gospodi gospodsko, Pa bježi.
362. Po drugi put se lisica ne hvata u gvožđa.
363. Pođi za stara, pođi za cara; pođi za mlada, pođi za vraga.
364. Pokori se mahnitu, kao i svetu.
365. Pokornu glavu sablja ne siječe.
366. Po ocu se poznaje sin, a po majci šći. 'A son is recognized after [his] father, and a daughter [is recognized] after [her] mother.'
367. Pop zapovijedi đaku, a đak crkvenjaku. 'The priest gives order(s) to the deacon, and the deacon [gives orders] to the sexton.'

368. Pop popu nije kriv e mu je poredan bir.
369. Pop se ne bira po bradi, no po glavi.
370. Potreba očiju nema.
371. Po tragu se zec nađe.
372. Prava muka nikad ne gine. 'The real burden never goes away.'
373. Pravda je davno poginula.
374. Prva last potonja muka.
375. Prva pamet kučku pod rep.
376. Prema guberu valja se pružati.
377. Prepošten nepošten.
378. Prijekor je grđi od smrti.
379. Prije će mati zaboraviti svoje rođenje nego Bog svoje stvorenje.
380. Prodrta vreća ne može se napuniti.
381. Proď se vraga, ne ćeraj mu traga.
382. Pruži noge dokle bijelj zapovijeda.
383. Prut dok je mlad valja ga savijati.
384. Pusti muhu na dlan, ona hoće u bradu.
385. Pusti pijetla na prag, popeće se i na policu.
386. Pušku, ženu i konja može čoek pokazati, ali u naruč ne davati.
387. Pušci i konju ne valja vjerovati.
388. Radnja je za čoeka, a štednja za ženu.
389. Rakija hljebu kandžija.
390. Račvast kolac u zemlju ne ide.
391. Rđava je tica koja u svoje gnijezdo tori.
392. Rep glavi ne zapovijeda.
393. Reci bobu: bob, a popu: pop. 'Say to bean: bean, and the priest: priest.'
394. Ružan čoek ne ide rado na ogledalo.
395. Ružna ružnu ište. 'The ugly one asks for the ugly one.'
396. Sa zlim žlje, a beza zla još gore.
397. Sam Bog nema gospodara.
398. Svagđe je dobro, al' kod kuće najbolje.
399. Sva je huka na vuka, a iza vuka i lisica sita.
400. Svaka svekrva mrzi na snahu.
401. Svaka sila za vremena, a kneževa za godinu.
402. Svak je od svoga mala gospodar.
403. Svak je svoga doma vladika.
404. Svačiju slušaj, a svoju sviđaj.
405. Svašta u svijetu.
406. S velikom gospodom nije dobro trešnje jesti.
407. Svemu svijetu ni Bog nije ugodio.
408. Svoja kućica svoja voljica. 'One's own little house, one's own little will.'
409. S vragom došlo, s vragom i otišlo. '[What] came with the devil, went with the devil.'
410. Svuda je proći, al' je kući doći.
411. S glave Bog pomaže.
412. Sina ženi kad hoćeš, A kćer udaj kad možeš.
413. Silom baba u raj. 'By force the old woman in to the paradise [goes].'

414. Sit gladnu ne vjeruje.
415. Situ trbuhu i dobar hljeb nije ugodan.
416. S kim si do podne onaki si od podne.
417. S kim te vide s tijem te i pišu. 'Who they see you with that one they write you with.'
418. Skup više plaća a lijen dalje ide.
419. Skup je grad za dinar, Kad dinara nema.
420. S ludim se ne valja šaliti.
421. Služba nije družba.
422. Snaga vino pije. '[It is] the strength [that] drinks wine.'
423. Snaha u rod, a svekrva u poprd.
424. S praznom rukom nikud čoek nije pristao.
425. Sramoti čoeka đe te čuje, a hvali đe ne čuje.
426. Stara koza rado se liže.
427. Stara kokoš dobra čorba.
428. Sto misli duga ne plaća.
429. Sto zborova pazar čine, a jedna veže i driješi.
430. Suvišnja preša miša ne lovi.
431. Sunce grije, Kiša ide, Vještice se legu.
432. Tamnoj noći svjedoka nema
433. Tašta zetu maslo vari, dokle mu zlo u kuću uvali.
434. Tvrda vreća prohu drži.
435. Teže preteže.
436. Teško bratu bez brata, a đevojci bez svata!
437. Teško vuku ne jedući mesa, A junaku ne pijući vina!
438. Teško konju bez polja a mornaru bez mora!
439. Teško kupusu iz sela smok čekajući!
440. Teško punici na zetovoj ulici!
441. Teško svuda svome bez svojega!
442. Trbuh je najbolji sahat.
443. Trbuh ne zna za šalu.
444. Trbuh nema ušiju.
445. Trgovac je lovac.
446. Tuđa koza go loj.
447. Tuđa koza puna loja.
448. Turci misle da je raja šala; Al' je raja gradovima glava.
449. Turci polje, a Latini more, A Hrišćani drvlje i kamenje. 'The Turks [have taken] the fields, the Latins [have taken] the sea, and the Christians (i.e., the Serbs/Slavs) [have taken] [only] the sticks and the rocks.'
450. Ćorava žena i krnj lonac, šteta gotova.
451. U beharu svakoga šićara, Ponajviše buha i ušiju.
452. U bogata muža valjana žena.
453. U bogata na glas, a u siromaha na čast. '[Go] to the rich one for status, and to the poor one for feast.'
454. Udovica se i na kola penje, a sve veli: neću.
455. Udovica udo ime.
456. U žene ima devet duša.

457. U žene je duga kosa, a kratka pamet.
458. U zajam se i goveda ližu.
459. Uza suho drvo i sirovo izgori.
460. U zlu se čoek gleda kakav je.
461. U jeziku nema kosti.
462. U koga je čaša u toga i molitva.
463. U laži su kratke noge.
464. U muškoga je sramota pod petom, a u ženskoga među očima.
465. U nevolji ne treba plakati, nego lijek tražiti.
466. U ratara crne ruke, a bijela pogača.
467. U svakoga popa torbica duboka.
468. U stara krvnika nema nova prijatelja.
469. U stara oca sirotna đeca.
470. U tuđoj ruci uvijek je komad veći.
471. U ćoravoj zemlji i sakati konji prolaze.
472. U šali ima i zbilje.
473. Ušima, a ne očima, valja se ženiti.
474. Hvala je prazna plaća.
475. Hvali more a drži se glavice.
476. Hercegovina sve zemlje naseli, a sebe ne raseli.
477. Hitar budi šta čuti, a tih govoriti.
478. Hrana hrabra, a ruho gospodara.
479. Hrani konja kao brata, a jaši ga kao dušmanina. 'Feed the horse like [your] brother, but ride him like your enemy.'
480. Ciganski se valja pogađati, a gospodarski plaćati.
481. Crna kapa zla prilika.
482. Čavka i zla žena što se više pere, to je crnja.
483. Časna haljina sramote ne pokriva.
484. Čija je krava onog i tele. 'Whose [is] the cow his is also the calf.'
485. Čija sila onoga i carstvo.
486. Čistu obrazu malo vode treba.
487. Čoek zna đe se rodi, ali ne zna kud se godi.
488. Čoek se u piću poznaje.
489. Čoek se uči dok je živ, pa opet lud umre.
490. Šaljiva druga družina ljubi.
491. Šareno i gizdavo mladu je drago.
492. Šokci ubokci, Vlasi siromasi.
493. Štednja je prvo tečenje.
494. Što bliže k Nišu, sve gore pišu.
495. Što Bog daje to je sve dobro.
496. Što god maca omaci, ono sve miše lovi [in Vuk 1965: *Štogod...*, which is an error].
497. Što dalje sve bliže smrti.
498. Što je daleko od očiju, daleko i od srca. 'What is away from [one's] eyes, [that] is also away from [one's] heart.'
499. Što kolevka zaljuljala, To motika zakopala.
500. Što nije gledati, nije ni glodati. 'What is not for watching, neither is for gnawing.'